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ABSTRACT

The report focuses on two aspects of social education in public schools--citizenship and consumer education. The major objectives of the report were to investigate assumptions of educators and policy makers regarding social education and to recommend ways of improving social education programs. The document is presented in three major sections. Section I provides an overview of citizenship and consumer education programs, identifies problems and tasks common to both types of programs, and investigates the relationship between citizen and consumer roles. Section II outlines assumptions by educators and policy makers regarding education and schooling. Major assumptions are that social roles such as consumer and citizen may be treated separately in social education and that formal education is an effective mechanism to promote individual social competence. Topics discussed include deficiencies in citizen and consumer behavior, the effectiveness of schooling in transmitting knowledge about consumerism and citizenship, and educational change. Section III presents conclusions and recommendations. The major conclusion is that integration of citizenship and consumer education will help reverse the current trend toward excessive specialization in social education. It is recommended that the federal government fund research to develop a common framework for social education, to clarify the role of schools in social education, and to further explicate the relationship between consumer and citizenship education. (DB)

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CONSUMER AND CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION TODAY: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF KEY ASSUMPTIONS

Prepared for the

U.S. Office of Education
Office of Consumers' Education

by

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of

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PREFACE

The Mershon Center is a social science organization concerned with educational and research efforts in leadership, public policy and national security affairs. The Citizenship Development Program is one activity within the Mershon Center. The Program develops educational programs on basic citizenship skills, disseminates new knowledge about political life to schools and conducts policy-oriented research on issues in social education.

The Citizenship Development Program undertook to investigate the relationship between citizenship education and consumer education. This report (presented in fulfillment of a U.S. Office of Education Contract No. P00770605) is the result of that research.

Lee Anderson, Northwestern University; John Patrick, Indiana University and Richard C. Snyder of the Mershon Center served as project consultants. Lucy Black Creighton, University of Denver, along with the consultants, reviewed the final draft of the report. George Steele, Ohio State University, served ably as a research assistant. The author wishes to acknowledge the special contribution of Lee Anderson to key ideas in this report, particularly to the discussion of role fusion in Part II and assumptions regarding educational change in Part III.

Throughout the duration of the project, the author had the cooperation of Dr. Dustin Wilson, Jr., Director and Dr. Mary Beth Minden of the Office of Consumers' Education, Office of Education.

The main findings of the report are reviewed in the Executive Summary. Policy recommendations are presented in Part III. The report concludes that the trend toward excessive specialization in social education should be reversed and that the better integration of citizenship and consumer education is an important step in that direction.

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Executive Summary

The content of social education in America is becoming fragmented. In addition to the familiar history, geography and civics, consumer education, career education, law-related education, energy education, environmental education, and global education now compete for the attention of student, teacher and administrator. Educators and policy-makers have assumed that our behavior in roles such as citizen, consumer and worker is independent and may be treated separately in social education.

The process of social education is also becoming fragmented. Social education has largely become the job of the schools and formal schooling. Educators and policy-makers have assumed that formal education in the schools is an effective mechanism to promote peoples' social competence.

This report investigates these assumptions as manifested in citizenship and consumer education. The report finds little evidence to support the assumption that our behavior as citizens and as consumers is independent and distinct. Quite the contrary, people often behave simultaneously as citizen and as consumer. This occurs, for example, when a person buys a small car as one means to support a national energy conservation policy.

Even when our actions as citizens and as consumers can be readily distinguished, there are important commonalities. The tasks we face in both roles are shaped by common historical forces, involve common skills such as decision-making, occur in similar bureaucratic settings and involve common problems such as alienation.

This report finds only partial support for the second assumption that education in the schools promotes citizen and consumer competence. Research does clearly indicate that there are deficiencies in citizen and consumer behavior. However, it is less clear such deficiencies are traceable to and hence correctable by formal education. An alternative is that these deficiencies stem from structural characteristics of our society itself. In addition, research indicates that schools have not been particularly effective mechanisms for delivering citizen and consumer education to students. Finally, the assumption that social educators can actually effect changes in the schools is open to question.

These findings lead to three major conclusions:

- The quality of social education in America will not be significantly enhanced until the trend toward increased fragmentation of social education is reversed or at least halted.
- The fragmentation of social education will not be stopped until we seriously re-think the assumptions and models which support that education and until we develop new, unifying frameworks for social education.
- The federal government has a major role to play in stimulating a serious re-thinking of our approaches to social education and in stimulating the development of common frameworks to guide future work in this area.

These conclusions are followed in Part III by recommendations for federal policy related to all areas of social education and by recommendations for Office of Consumers' Education policy toward consumer and citizenship education.

CONSUMER AND CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION TODAY: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF KEY ASSUMPTIONS

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As society has become more complex, the social education of our youth has become fragmented. Today we have not only citizenship education, but also consumer education, career education, environmental education, energy education, multi-cultural education, law-related education and global education as well as the more traditional history and geography. While not mutually exclusive, each of these approaches to social education represent different points of view. And they are promoted by educators in ways which emphasize distinctions between each approach at the same time a common purpose in social education is affirmed.

Federal government policy-making has mirrored this increasing specialization in social education with its own divisions of labor. Currently there are federal programs, task forces and/or agencies related to each of the areas listed above. Each federal program, task force or agency has its own budget, staff and goals. There is little interaction and coordination among these efforts.

Continued specialization by educators and policy-makers can only lead to even greater fragmentation of young people's social education. This is an undesirable trend. It means that the citizen's education will be broken into ever more specialized segments that bear less and less resemblance to the social tasks and responsibilities people have to cope with in daily life.

This report is an example of a step in the opposite direction. The report seeks to promote the integration of topics in social education by examining key operating assumptions in the field today. These assumptions have guided recent work in social education and they have shaped the federal government's response to that work.

They are:

(1) The assumption that societal roles such as citizen, consumer or worker are distinct and independent. *In this report we examine the validity of this assumption in regard to the role of citizen and the role of consumer.*

(2) The assumption that formal education is an effective mechanism to promote people's social competence. *In this report we examine the validity of this assumption as it applies to the efforts of citizenship and consumer educators.*

The findings in this report indicate a critical need to re-think the prevailing assumptions and working "theories" which have guided social education in recent years. The report concludes that the federal government has a major role to play in stimulating such re-thinking. The report is divided into three parts. Part I examines the assumption that our behavior as citizens and as consumers is distinct and not related. Part II examines assumptions regarding the role of education in promoting citizen and consumer competence. Part III makes recommendations for federal policy in this area.

I.

ASSUMPTIONS REGARDING THE CITIZEN ROLE AND CONSUMER ROLE

An examination of the research and theoretical literature, and instructional materials in citizenship and consumer education, reveals that traditionally the roles of "citizen" and "consumer" have been assumed to be distinct and unrelated. Thus, those interested in the preparation of individuals for citizenship and those concerned with educating people as consumers have implicitly, if not explicitly, assumed they were working on quite different problems. This assumption, in turn, rests on the notion that our activities as citizens and as consumers represent naturally different domains of human behavior--the political and the economic. At the popular level this perception is reflected in the traditional American view of politics and economics as separate spheres of human activity, each with its peculiar institutions and norms of behavior.

The assumption of independence in the citizen and consumer role is important. It has influenced the manner in which educators and policy-makers have organized themselves intellectually and socially to work on citizenship and consumer education. And this, in turn, has affected classroom instruction, curriculum development, research, and professional development and service activities in both citizenship and consumer education.

In this section we will consider the impact of this assumption on the practice of citizenship and consumer education at the elementary and high school level. Then we will evaluate the validity of the assumptions. But first the context for this research is set by briefly summarizing key features of citizenship and consumer education today.

A. An Overview of Citizenship and Consumer Education

Over the years consumer education has been defined in a variety of ways. Alternative definitions have reflected the broad range of consumer problems and the large number of institutions concerned with such problems.

In the 1970's consumer education has been largely seen as a way to arm buyers for confrontation with sellers.[1] The focus of consumer education today.is generally "a combination of providing straight information about price and quality and the knowledge and understanding necessary to be an effective consumer in the modern complex economy."[2]

The HEW Office of Consumers' Education definition of the field illustrates this blending of a concern with personal economics and the larger social process. The Office defines consumer education as

> an effort to impart the skills and understandings that will prepare consumers to participate intelligently in the market place and in the economy. It educates people to recognize market place alternatives and make rational choices in light of their personal values, their citizenship responsibilities, and social, economic and ecological considerations.[3]

Consumer education entered the schools in the early 1900's through the home economics curriculum. In 1917 the Smith-Hughs (Vocational Education) Act strengthened this relationship by making "business management of the home" part of the vocational home economics curriculum.[4] Since then consumer education has become widely scattered throughout the junior and senior high school curriculum. Consumer education topics appear in distributive education, business and social studies courses, as well as in mathematics, industrial arts and science classes. In recent years a number of state departments of education have begun to mandate or recommend course work dealing with economics or consumer issues for local school districts.

Consumer education materials focus largely on content associated with improving student skills in managing personal finances. Frequently covered topics include the consumer in the economy, family income, management, use of credit, savings and investment, and food purchasing. Teachers dealing with consumer education are likely to stress objectives related to private consumption in their instruction more than learning outcomes related to the skillful consumption of public services. Similarly, more attention is usually given to developing student awareness of problems in the market than to developing skills associated with methods of consumer organization, redress and protection.[5] Since the mid-1960's consumer education has enjoyed a revival in the schools. A recent review states that "strong interest in consumer education has extended into the mid-1970's as consumers seek to adjust to high inflation, high unemployment, materials shortages and an increasingly technical society."[6]

Like consumer education, citizenship education has been defined in different ways. Many educators have taken a legalistic approach and defined citizenship education as the preparation of students for future responsibilities associated with the institutions of local, state and national government--especially voting, obeying laws and loving country. Others have seen citizenship education as the development of students' pro-social behavior across many facets of social life.[7] In contrast, other educators have stressed the development of thinking skills as the foundation of sound citizenship education. Over the years, there has been a continual tension between those who would limit citizenship education to maintaining traditions and those who would foster the competence to think critically and independently, which might lead to rejection of established political beliefs and practices.[8]

In this report we define citizenship education as involving learning and instruction directed to the development of citizen competence.[9] It is concerned with factors pertinent to the governance of social groups to which people belong. Citizen competence is a relational concept characterizing the quality of a person's participation in processes associated with group governance such as making or influencing decisions, providing leadership, or acquiring information. Experience tells us that some people are more competent as citizens than others. Competence with citizenship involves a multi-dimensional amalgam of knowledge, skills, attitudes and experiences. These attributes are generally identifiable but uniquely configured in each individual.[10]

In contrast to consumer education, citizenship education has been a special responsibility, by historical tradition and legal mandate, of elementary and high schools since the early days of the Republic.[11] Presently formal instruction in citizenship education is concentrated within the social studies curriculum. In the primary grades local communities and urban life are studied, and in the intermediate grades the Constitution, national government and United States history are covered. At the junior and senior high level formal courses directly focused on citizenship education appear. These include Civics (grades 7, 8 or 9), State and Local Government/History (appears from grades 7 through 12, History (grade 10 or 11), U.S. Government (grade 12), and Senior Problems or Problems of Democracy courses (grade 12).[12]

Like consumer education, the popularity of citizenship education over the years has been in a state of flux. The 1970's have brought a resurgence of interest in citizenship education paralleling the growing concern for consumer education. This revitalized interest in citizenship has inherited from the "new social studies" movement an interest in teaching about the realities as well as the ideals of the political process and an interest in the development of skills in thinking and participating.

In summary, people concerned with citizenship education and consumer education have shared a similar general ambition--a desire to enhance the competence of people acting as consumers and as citizens. There, of course, have been and remain disagreements among people in each field as to precisely what might constitute citizen or consumer competence.

Citizenship education appears to have a more secure foothold in the formal curriculum because several course slots appear for citizenship education across the grade levels. Both citizenship and consumer education have recently enjoyed a resurgence of popularity and support among teachers and educational trendsetters. Finally, it appears that the fortunes of both consumer and citizenship education in the schools have depended less upon pressures generated by their respective proponents than on currents within the society and educational system itself--a point we will consider in more detail later.

B. Mutual Isolation

What is the current relationship of consumer education and citizenship education? If, as we have asserted, educators have operated on the assumption that consumer behavior and citizenship behavior are independent, we would expect to find little, if any, relationship between the two fields in practice. This is, in fact, the case.

Despite their co-existence in the school curriculum since the turn of the century, consumer education and citizenship education have been isolated from each other. One indicator of mutual isolation is the content of consumer and citizenship education programs. The instructional materials are not well integrated. It seems that authors in each field have not been mutually informed. Further, there is relatively little professional interaction between the proponents of consumer education and citizenship education.

With respect to content, the need to better relate subject-matter in consumer and citizenship education has been periodically noted. In 1945 the National Council for the Social Studies called for more emphasis on consumer education in the social studies curriculum.[13] A similar call was again issued in an October, 1974 issue of Social Education, the NCSS journal. Little, however, has been done to actually bridge the gap between consumer and citizenship education.

At present neither consumer nor citizenship education instructional materials contain subject-matter that adequately reflects an integrated approach to these two areas. For instance, existing materials do not treat knowledge, skills and problems associated with citizens acting as consumers of government services. Nor do they consider the relationship between private and public choices associated with managing large-scale technology. Nor, for example, do existing materials aim at sensitizing students to the complex relationships between private consumption behavior and the social or public consequences of such behavior.

Rather, most elementary level materials treat consumer and citizenship topics as distinct and unrelated. At the junior and senior high school level, civics and government textbooks generally limit themselves to brief, legalistic descriptions of the role of the national government in the economy and the relation of government to taxation and banking. At best there are some supplementary materials in areas such as legal education and environmental education that treat consumer related topics more directly or touch on the relationship of citizen/consumer roles.

The situation in consumer education is basically the same. For example, a 1970 study of current practice in the field divided "the core subject matter of consumer education" into twenty topical categories such as "the consumer in the economy or management and family income."[14] Only three categories--"community consumption and taxes, consumer aid and protection and consumer organization"--bore any potential relation to citizenship education. And, of the 108 sub-topics and understandings listed under these twenty categories, only nine dealt with citizenship related topics.[15]

One further indicator of subject-matter isolation is found in college-level teaching methods textbooks. These textbooks are an important component of the teaching methods courses taken by undergrade education majors as they prepare to become elementary and high school teachers. None of the seven leading high school social studies methods textbooks examined for this report contained any material on consumer education or on the linkage of consumer education and citizenship.[16] Of the elementary methods books examined, only one contained a reference to the place of consumer education in social studies instruction.[17]

A second indicator of isolation is the lack of contact between social scientists, policymakers and educators interested in citizenship education and those interest in consumer education. They tend not to go to the same professional meetings and their writings rarely appear in each other's journals. For example, Social Education, issued seven times a year, has published only four articles related to consumer education since 1960. Often these individuals reside either in different university departments or within different bureaucratic enclaves.

The isolation of citizenship education and consumer education is symptomatic of the field of social education today. Career education, environmental education, energy education, multi-cultural education, law related education and global education are not integrated in some type of overarching social education framework. Rather, each approach is largely isolated from all the others. Of course, such isolation is not an intrinsic evil. If there were no significant relationship between our behavior as consumers and as citizens, there would be no cause to worry over the isolation of these two systems of human action. If on the other hand, our behavior as citizens and as consumers is interdependent, citizenship education and consumer education should reflect this interdependence.

We will now turn to an examination of the relationship of citizen and consumer roles. Up to this point we have briefly described citizenship and consumer education and we have considered the mutual isolation that results in part from the assumption of independence in the citizen and consumer role. In the next section we assess the validity of that assumption.

C. The Relationship of Citizen and Consumer Roles

How valid is the assumption that societal roles such as citizen and consumer are distinct and independent? A principal conclusion of this research is that the distinction between citizen and consumer is not "natural and inevitable" but rather artificial and misleading.

Today the consumer and citizen roles often involve a common domain of human behavior and a set of increasingly related public policy problems and issues. This common domain of behavior encompasses a blending, or "fusion" of traditionally distinct consumer and citizen roles. Concern for a common domain of human behavior means that consumer educators and citizenship educators are to a large extent seeking to develop a common set of knowledge, skills, attitudes and experiences associated with competent behavior.

Our behavior as citizens and consumers occurs in response to a set of institutions, public policies and social problems which increasingly link economics and politics. These institutions, policies and problems are of common concern to citizenship and consumer education. Put another way, subject matter in social studies and consumer education closely parallel each other. Both, for instance, deal with public policy decisions within government and the economic sector. And both have an interest in the mechanics of the corporate structure, independent regulatory agencies, Congress and courts. Both deal with issues related to conflicts between one's freedom of choice and social responsibility, one's personal liberties and the public interest. In so doing, both are aiming at the same goal--an informed, enlightened and active citizenry.[18]

Recent efforts to establish a national energy policy exemplify the common concerns of consumer educators, energy educators and citizenship educators. The creation and implementation of such a policy would involve all citizens in making critical consumer decisions related to a public policy with implications for the nation and its economy. As a result, a "consumer education" campaign regarding energy is not just a single purpose activity--it is a political act. Its success or failure depends on collective citizen competence and on the extent to which the role of government vis-a-vis public and private institutions is clear and understood.

In recent years the relationship between politics and economics in American life has become more pronounced and more readily apparent. System-level and individual-level indicators of this trend include:

(1) An increasing role for government in the economy as regulator and economic balance wheel.

(2) The expansion of government activity at all levels resulting in an increasing consumption of government services by citizens.

(3) A steady increase in the number of economic decisions made collectively in the political process.

(4) A growing concern for the social responsibility and group consequences of corporate behavior.

(5) A parallel emerging concern for the ecological and group consequences of consumptive behavior.

(6) An intertwining of political and economic issues such as energy conservation, inflation, maintenance of environmental quality, maintenance of the social security system, welfare rights and the like.

(7) An increase in the number of individual decisions that have social as well as private economic consequences.

Along with such changes have come changes in our way of looking at the relationship between political and economic life. This is reflected in a renewed interest among social scientists in political economy as well as in a growing popular awareness of the increasing politicalization of economic life.

We have asserted that there is little empirical warrant for the assumption that the consumer role and citizen role are distinct and independent. We must now consider the evidence more carefully. Just how is our behavior as consumers and as citizens related? How can we think systematically about the interdependence, overlap and commonality in the roles, problems and behaviors of people as citizens and as consumers?

The consumer and the citizen role are related in two important ways:

(1) In an increasing number of situations, the role of citizen and consumer are *fused*. That is, these roles are inseparable and indistinguishable in that individuals are acting simultaneously as citizens and as consumers.

(2) Even when individuals are behaving strictly as a consumer or as a citizen, there are important commonalities in their behavior and the problems they confront in either role.

The remainder of this section will examine in detail these two ways citizen roles and consumer roles are related. We will first consider instances when the roles are interdependent and inseparable. We will then consider five factors these two types of role behavior have in common even when they are quite distinct.

1. The Fusion of Citizen and Consumer Roles

It was once thought that the role of consumer only had meaning in economic terms.

> From its beginnings in the early 1930s to the present, the consumer movement has been bound by economic theory's analysis of consumers. The reason for this is quite simple: *consumer* has meaning only in economic terms. Consumers are not voters,

> citizens, or even community members; consumers are individual human beings who use goods and services for their own purposes. In market-oriented economies like that of the United States, the accepted economic definition holds that consumers function in markets where private firms produce and sell, and consumers buy and use.[19]

Common-sense observations of our own behavior and the behavior of political leaders clearly indicate that this view of the consumer role is no longer accurate or adequate. The following examples indicate that it is often impossible to distinguish when people are acting as consumers and when they are acting as citizens.

> The Bronson family decides to purchase a compact car, which is smaller than the car they really want. They do so because the additional comfort and speed are less important values to them than a contribution to energy conservation, however small that may be.
>
> Sheila Kaplan votes on a local referendum on whether to establish regional a transit authority to better promote mass transportation.
>
> Representatives of five of the nation's major airlines asked the U.S. Civil Aeronautics Board (CAB) for a five percent fare increase. The airlines said higher fuel costs make the fare hikes necessary.
>
> In Bowie, Maryland a high school student chooses to help classmates circulate a petition demanding that their city council pass a law banning the sale of "throwaway" bottles.
>
> Members of the Consumers Action Union (CAU) started to picket a supermarket chain two weeks ago. They asked people to boycott the stores. They said they would continue to picket until the supermarket chain agreed to charge the same prices in its inner-city stores as in its suburban stores.
>
> Mary Wilkins writes an angry letter to her senator asking that he oppose the Food and Drug Administration's proposed ban on saccharine. Mary is a diabetic and fears that the ban would make it difficult and more expensive for her to obtain artifically sweetened products.

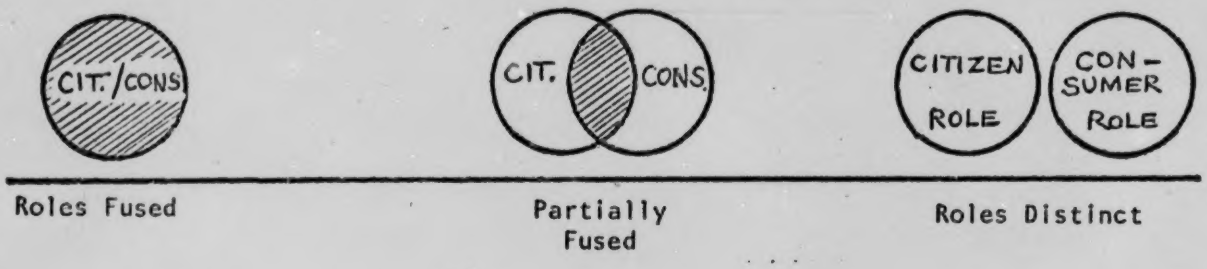
The reader could, of course, think of countless other examples. But the point is clear. Today there are an increasing number of situations in which citizen and consumer roles are neither separate nor merely overlapping but instead are fused. That is, there are a growing number of situations where individuals are acting simultaneously as citizens and as consumers. In such instances, the only sensible role designation is *citizen/consumer.*

The concept of *fusion* provides a way to start thinking systematically about one important way,consumer and citizen roles are linked. It can help us understand that there are times when it is not useful to try to distinguish between our behavior as consumers and as citizens because there is no meaningful distinction in reality. The concept also provides a starting point for planning instructional programs that integrate knowledge and skills associated with consumers and citizenship education.

The concept of fusion refers to a continuous rather than a dichotomous, either/or phenomenon. As Figure 1 illustrates, a person's behavior as citizen and as consumer may be more or less fused.

Figure 1

Fusion of Consumer and Citizen Roles



Citizenship behavior involves rights, responsibilities and tasks associated with *governance* of groups such as our city, state and nation. Group governance involves rule making, goal setting and resource distribution among group members. Group governance is accomplished through processes which are collectively binding; that is, potentially enforceable for all members of the group. As members of the city, state and nation, citizens participate in the problems and tasks associated with group governance.

Consumer behavior involves the acquisition and use of products and services; the maintenance of products and the disposal of remnants or residue of products. Consumption occurs within the context of a market where there is an exchange relationship between buyers and sellers. Consumer behavior also includes activities designed to alter the structure of markets and insure consumer protection through a variety of public and private means.

The citizen role and consumer role are fused when individuals engage in consumption behavior which has consequences for group governance or when they participate in processes of group governance which affect consumer decisions, alternatives and consumption patterns. There are an increasing number of situations where individuals act as citizen/consumer. What are some of these social settings or situations? While our list is not exhaustive, we can identify several circumstances and settings likely to engage us simultaneously as consumer and as citizen.

First are settings which involve people in the consumption of government services. The role of government in providing goods and services to individuals and organizations has grown tremendously since World War II. Today government at different levels provides electricity through government-owned utilities, inspects the food we eat and the medicines we use, provides weather forecasts via satellites, finances low-interest mortgages, operates school buses, provides welfare payments and food stamps, trains the handicapped, runs hospitals, builds roads and dams, insures our savings accounts, regulates the stock market, prints our money and on--indeed any list of government services today seems almost endless.

Government provision of services is part of a societal movement toward a "service-consumer society" in which society related work and the consumption of service are becoming primary factors. Gartner and Riessman explain that the basic framework of the emerging service society is a political economy characterized by a tremendous expansion in the production and consumption of the human services, with the most significant expansion occuring in health, education and welfare services and in government employment.[20]

As government services have increased so has the size and complexity of government. The expansion of government in America is most noticeable at the national level. While the nation's population has multiplied 53 times during the last 185 years, the number of federal government workers has increased about 1,500 times. A year's spending by the federal government in George Washington's first term would only pay about seven minutes of federal outlays in our time. In spending last year an amount equal to almost one quarter of the country's total output of goods and services, federal workers wrote about 772 million checks.[21]

The provision of vital services by the federal government complicates the task of the citizen/consumer today. It means people must deal more often with government at the same time that the federal government has become so huge it is almost incomprehensible to the average person. The federal government, for example, employs some 2.9 million civilian workers in eleven Cabinet departments, 59 indepependent agencies, Congress and the federal courts system. One in every 43 Americans today draws a federal paycheck.

The growth of federal power, however, has not come at the expense of state and local government activity. State and local governments have been adding employees at the rate of about 450,000 per year. "That is an annual net increase equal to more than half the number of workers in auto plants."[22].

The fusion of the citizen and consumer role prompted by the expansion of government services is particularly manifest in the continual competition for such services. As an ever increasing share of personal and corporate income goes to support the service activities in the public sector, individuals acting alone and in groups compete to reclaim a share of the pie for their own consumption. Few individuals or groups, however, are happy with their share of the total pie. Educators regret the money spent on defense because they believe it deprives schools of adequate funds. Farmers resent subsidies for urban centers and programs; city dwellers resent price supports for farmers--and so it goes.[23]

This has led to a situation where an increasing number of economic decisions are being made collectively in the political process. Daniel Bell has termed this situation the growth of non-market public decision-making. By this he means:

> The growth of problems which have to be settled by the public authorities, rather than through the market mechanism. The laying out of roads, the planning of cities, the organization of health care, the payment for education, the cleaning up of environmental pollution, the building of houses all become matters of public concern. No one can buy his share of "clean air," in the market; one has to use communal mechanisms in order to deal with pollution.[24]

Participation in such processes through voting, attempting to influence decisions and policy or simply by observing and making judgments engage us as citizen/consumers. The amount and scope of this kind of decision-making at local, state and national levels is increasing. As this occurs the number of instances when we act simultaneously as consumer and as citizen is also increasing.

Many, of course, still describe the United States by such phrases as "capitalist nation" or "bastion of the free enterprise system." This is a good example of conceptual lag. Social reality has changed but we continue to use traditional labels whether they fit or not. Today the United States actually has a very mixed economy with a steadily growing sector that we might term state capitalism. The Depression killed whatever appetite most Americans had for a laissez faire economy. After that experience workers, farmers, bankers and businessmen demanded protection from the fury of the market place. "What gradually evolved is a system where major economic decisions are treated as if they are political decisions. Interest group politics determines the outcome of many economic decisions."[25]

The fusion of consumer and citizen roles in situations where economic decisions are made collectively is manifest in the fact that influencing such decisions requires the application of citizenship skills in the political process. In the market place as described by neo-classical economic theorists a "decision" is reached through the multiple choices of thousands of individual consumers, acting independently. However, with non-market public decisions Bell argues "the situation is entirely different . . . [because] decision-making has become 'politicalized' and subject to all the multiple, direct pressures of political decision-making."[26]

Another situation leading to the fusion of consumer and citizen roles is the fact that people are facing an increasing number of individual consumption decisions which have consequences for the well-being of fellow citizens and for the governance of the group to which they belong. For example, consumers purchasing products in non-destructible containers have to be made to pay for waste disposal or other people are affected through the desecration of the environment. In the same way, consumers who demand services which add to retail prices or who make unjustified insurance claims also impose costs on other consumers. "The greater the magnitude of these indirect impacts of consumers, the greater the social cost and public nature of consumption."[27]

To take another example, millions of individual decisions by consumers over the years regarding their personal use of energy have resulted in serious problems for the governance of the United States. They have led to efforts to create new rules and regulations regarding the development and use of energy in America. Such individual choices have also had and will continue to have important global and foreign-policy consequences.

As the interdependence and technological complexity of our society increases, the boundaries of our decision-making are expanding spatially and temporally. Matters that were once issues about which we could make decisions with an eye only to their short term consequences for ourselves are becoming matters with long term consequences and consequences that reach far beyond our personal lives, our community and our nation. As these changes occur, we are learning that individual consumptions decisions with group consequences are inherently political and fuse the citizen and consumer role.

In summary, we have seen that the role of consumer has meaning in more than economic terms. Today a person's behavior in a consumer role may be fused with his or her behavior in a citizen role. Fusion of the consumer and citizen role refers to an individual acting simultaneously as a consumer and as a citizen. We have suggested three instances where the fusion of the consumer and the citizen role occurs: situations involving the consumption of government services, situations where economic decisions are made collectively in the political process and situations involving individual consumption decisions with social consequences. We will now turn to a discussion of important commonalities in the citizen and consumer role even when we can distinguish between the two types of role behavior.

2. Commonalities in Distinct Citizen and Consumer Roles

A second way to think systematically about the relationship of consumer and citizen roles is to ask what these two types of role behavior have in common when they are not fused. As the examples below indicate, there are many aspects of our social life where our behavior as consumers and as citizens is quite distinguishable.

> Harry Stallone gives $5.00 to Senator Hawkins re-election campaign. Stallone approves of the Senator's position on ratification of the Panama Canal Treaty.
>
> Juanita Gomez buys a yellow dress for the dance next week. The dress costs more than she had planned to spend but it made her look "ten years younger."
>
> The Johnson family watches an interview with the U.S. Secretary of State on the television show Face the Nation.
>
> Mark Slotkowski does not renew his subscription to a favorite magazine because the price has increased.

In this section we will consider five factors that citizen role behavior and consumer role behavior often have in common. These are:

1. both citizen and consumer roles are subject to the same historical forces.
2. both citizenship and consumer roles involve a set of common tasks.
3. in both citizen and consumer roles people face a set of common problems.
4. both citizen and consumer roles are played out in increasingly similar settings.
5. In both citizen and consumer roles people often behave in comparable ways.

a. Historical Forces

As both consumers and citizens we are affected by a set of common historical forces. These forces shape the socio/cultural context in which we confront the tasks and problems associated with the consumer and the citizen role. Consideration of these forces can help us better understand the problems people confront as citizens and as consumers. And it can alert us to important instructional opportunities and problems faced by citizenship educators and by consumer educators.

Global Interdependence. Perhaps chief among these forces is the globalization of the human condition. This change cuts across all sectors of the human experience and has critical implications for our behavior as citizens and as consumers. Although some might wish otherwise, global interdependence is inescapable. It is a condition we must deal with, not some theory about other people's problems. As Harlan Cleveland points out: "We should recognize that interdependence is not something to be for or against, but a fact to be lived with now and reckoned with in the future."[28]

This interdependence is substantially affecting the lives of all Americans. Stephen K. Bailey has made the point very well:

> In recent decades world interdependences affecting all Americans have gone far beyond hereditary and cultural ties, or traditional diplomatic negotiations and distant military confrontations, and have become operationally immediate. They affect the purity of our air and water; the heat in our homes and office; the price of sugar, coffee and gasoline; the availability of meat and fish; the level of taxes; the survival of wildlife, the size of our armed forces; the subject matter of television; the levels of employment and inflation; the tranquility of our spirits; and the image of reality of our future.
>
> Similarly, how America behaves can drastically affect commodity markets in Africa and South America; money markets in London and Zurich; unemployment in Japan and Germany; questions of life and death in the Middle East, budget allocations in China and the Soviet Union; and the stability of regimes in Chile.[29]

Despite growing attention to interdependence, we are only beginning to appreciate the impact of this change on our lives as citizens and on the task of citizenship education. At a minimum, it means people now confront the tasks and responsibilities of citizenship in a global or internationalized context. Longshoremen, for example, decide whether or not to load American grain on ships bound for Russia, or a group of business leaders seeks to influence a state legislature to provide financial inducements to foreign companies to locate in their state, or members of a university committee vote to restrict programs for foreign students, or local church members judge it unfair that church policy toward the world food problem is set by their national headquarters rather than being individually determined in each diocese.

In addition, the rise of global interdependence, may have fundamental implications for our very concept of citizenship. The increasing flow of people, things and information across national boundaries means that each of us is becoming a participant in a transnational social order as well as a citizen in a nation, state and local community.

Recent gasoline shortages as well as the debate about import quotas on foreign steel and television sets have perhaps heightened awareness of the way global interdependence affects us as consumers. As we observe our own daily life we quickly become aware of how we are linked as consumers to a variety of international processes. In a single day the "typical" American consumer, for instance, may be awakened by a Japanese clock radio, drink morning coffee from Brazil, drive to work in a Fiat on tires made of Malayan rubber, buy Saudi Arabian gas, and listen on a German-made radio to a news report about a visiting Iranian trade delegation.[30]

Our contact with the rest of the world as consumers is not bound only to individual purchasing decisions. Money we put in a savings account at a local bank is reinvested in an apartment complex in Chile. A donation to a medical foundation helps build data processing facilities that permit scientists in Indianapolis, Geneva, and several African cities to exchange data on biological controls for harmful insects. A business investment in a local industry helps produce weapons that kill people in distant lands. These kinds of linkages implicate the individual consumer in relationships extending to all areas of the globe. They involve us in housing policy in Chile, health care in Nigeria, international scientific networks and death in far-off places. They link our lives to the lives of Japanese factory workers, laborers on Malayan rubber plantations and corporate executive in Germany and Italy.

At a minimum, increasing interdependence implies that both consumer education and citizenship education may pay simultaneous attention to citizen and consumer behavior in the context of many territorial units in addition to the nation-state. Both consumer and citizenship educators must develop an awareness of physically proximate economic and political conditions and a capacity to perceive and understand local/global linkages. Both citizenship and consumer educators must also develop peoples' capacity to see how one's nation, one's community and one's self are linked to nations, communities and people elsewhere in the world--a self-conscious awareness of what people are doing to you and what you are doing to them.

Growth of Large Institutions. In discussing the citizen/consumer role we noted that increased consumption of government services was correlated with the growth of government at all levels. The growth of massive social institutions in both the political and economic sectors of society is related not only to the fusion of consumer and citizen roles but also affects people in their individual roles as consumers and as citizens.

Coping with big government complicates enormously the tasks faced by citizens and the task of citizenship education. Traditional democratic models premised on a view of government which is no longer accurate may be an insufficient guide to creation of adequate citizenship education programs. Big, powerful, remote government may require citizenship educators to re-think the citizen's relation to government.

In a similar vein, consumer educators may need to reassess their position in light of the growth of massive economic institutions. Conventional economic theory has bound consumer educators to an inaccurate view of the way modern industrial societies operate. In modern society fewer and fewer producing organizations are small enough to fit the requirements for perfect competition. Yet consumer educators continue to act as if this were the case. Actually the growing affluence of consumers is the result of increases in output made possible by greater specialization and division of labor coordinated through large bureaucracies. Economic growth in this century has been made possible by complex technology and the economics of scale inherent in mass production. As one economist has explained, "The wide choice in goods and services and the increased standard of living available to most American consumers . . . comes not through small organizations with whom consumers can have face to face contact but through large organizations intrinsically powerful because of their size and their expertise."[31]

. Technological Innovation. Technology is another historical force affecting people both in their consumer and citizen role. Technology has unleased the unprecedented productivity that undergirds advanced industrial society; it has given national governments almost unimaginable tools of violence and created social problems requiring new forms of government intervention; and it has created the contemporary mass-media and an information explosion of vast proportions.

Sophisticated technology confronts people in their consumer and citizen roles with an array of issues undreamt of even two decades ago. Which stereo receiver will produce the least harmonic distortion in the mid-ranges? Is cellulose or vermiculite a better form of insulation for use in unfinished areas of the home? Should the government proceed with the development of nuclear power plants or divert resources to solar energy production? Should local governments restrict recombinant DNA experimentation at local universities and laboratories? What, if anything, can the Environmental Protection Agency do about the depletion of the ozone layer as a result of increasing fluorocarbons in the upper atmosphere?

Technological innovation has also created the mass-media and an information explosion regarding complex issues. We are literally innundated by information: economic information about the contraction of interest rates and the balance of payments; advertising about the merits of one product over another; sociological information on crime, the divorce rate or sex habits; opinion poll data on politicians and public issues; scientific reports on shifting weather patterns and climate changes.

High technology and the information explosion pose interesting challenges for both citizenship and consumer educators. In the case of citizenship education, for instance, proponents of one or another public policy present "objective" information which only supports the policy, regulation or legislative action of benefit to them. Further, the same information can be and often is introduced to support very different and even contradictory policies. And even in today's information-rich environment, data about complex, technological issues may be incomplete and hard to obtain.

In the case of consumer education, providing consumers with more information about the market and goods and services has traditionally been a prime goal--almost an article of faith. Yet some consumer educators have begun to question whether such a goal is attainable or even relevant when the level of technological complexity and specialization in the economy have advanced to the point where useful information is beyond the competence and interest of most consumers.

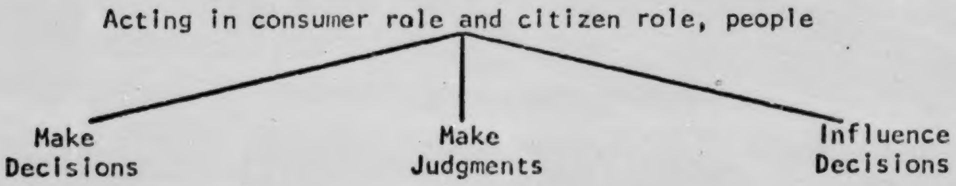
In summary, we have identified three historical forces which affect people as citizens and as consumers. These are global interdependence, the growth of large institutions and technological innovation. And we have seen that these forces confront consumer and citizenship educators with common educational problems. The list is not exhaustive but rather suggestive. Doubtless the reader can and should think of additional shaping forces which affect both roles such as the growing scarcity of natural resources.

b. Common Tasks

Whether functioning as a citizen or a consumer, individuals confront many common tasks.* Some of the most important of these center around the phenomenon of decision-making. Acting as both citizens and consumers, individuals relate to decision-making in three important ways as shown in Figure 2.

Figure 2

Decision Related Tasks Common to Consumer and Citizen Role



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*The decision-making principles discussed in this section also apply to individuals when they are acting in a fused citizen/consumer role discussed in Section II, A.

Let us consider each of these decision-related tasks more carefully.

Making Decisions. Decision-making is an integral part of both the citizen role and the consumer role. As citizens we make decisions about group governance. For example, we decide whether to obey the law and pay our taxes and we decide which candidate to vote for in an election. Or we help formulate new goals for a community club. As consumers we make decisions about the acquisition and use of products and services and about the management of personal finances. For example, we decide to purchase new carpeting on installment terms. Or we decide to increase savings and forego an expensive trip.

We can identify four basic elements of the decisions we make as consumers and citizens. These elements are present when we decide whether to buy a new television set or when we decide for whom to vote in a mayoral election. The four elements constitute a generaliable problem-solving routine that involves a variety of thinking skills and is useable with many kinds of decisions. These four elements, with examples for both the citizen and consumer role, are described below.

1. *Confrontation with the need for choice--an occasion for decision.* An occasion for decision is a problem situation where the solution is not obvious. For example, the election for mayor is coming up and there are several attractive candidates; or one's old black and white television breaks and needs expensive repairs.

2. *Determination of important values or goals affecting the decision.* For example, in the case of the election, one goal might be to choose a candidate who will support local schools. In the television case, one goal might be to spend as little money as possible.

3. *Identification of alternative courses of action.* For example, should one support an older candidate with a record for "getting things done" or an inexperienced candidate who has expressed

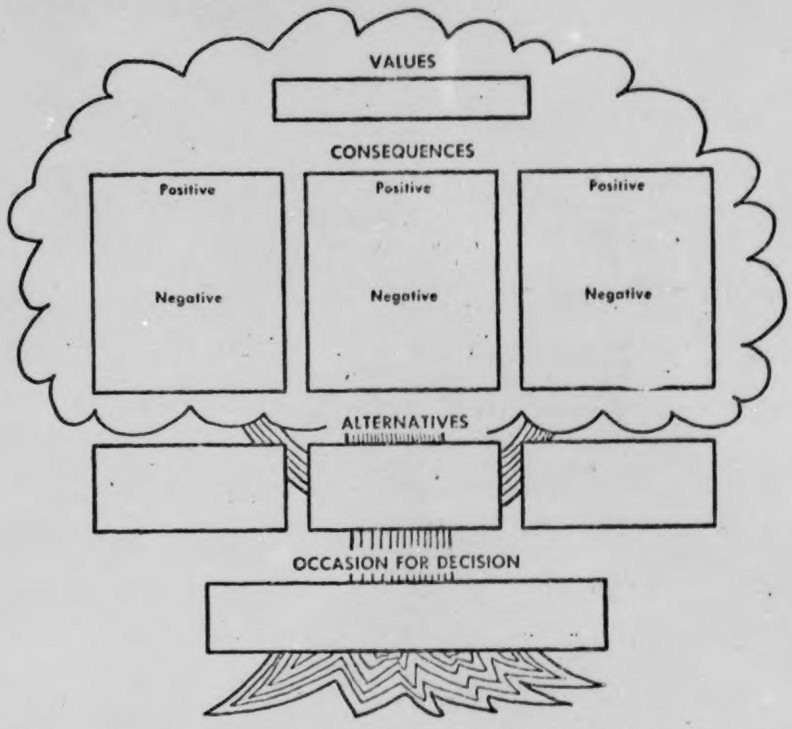
concern for the schools. Should one repair the old television or buy a new one--perhaps a color set.

4. *Predicting the positive and negative consequences of alternatives.* For example, the inexperienced candidate may support the schools but not be able to get anything done. Repairing the old television set deprives one of color television but it is much cheaper--if the old set doesn't break down again.

In any situation we face either in a consumer or citizen role, these elements of decision-making may apply unequally. For example, in some situations one may know the available alternatives, but be unclear as to what one's goals really are. In other situations, the heart of the decision-making task may be to think creatively of alternatives for reaching a clear and long-standing goal. In yet other situations, alternatives and goals may be clearly known, but the real challenge is to predict accurately the consequences of alternatives.

Making value judgments is also an important facet of both consumer decision-making and of citizen decision-making. We make value judgments when labeling consequences as negative or positive. While establishing goals, the consumer or citizen decision-maker engages in clarification of values and ethical reasoning. This clarification involves asking, "What do I want, and what is right or wrong in this situation?" Decision-makers who lack skill in analyzing or clarifying their values may establish goals or choose alternatives that unwittingly contradict their values.

The "Decision-Tree" (see Figure 3) is a simple analytical tool that graphically represents the four elements of decision-making described above. The Decision-Tree has been used quite successfully in citizenship education to help students learn to clarify and make decisions.* The device could be used with equal success in consumer education programs. The Decision-Tree is based on a well-known problem-solving technique used in management science and decision-theory to create maps of possible alternatives and consequences. The results of this process look like a branching tree. By using the Decision-Tree students can have direct experience with clarifying and making choices.



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*The Decision-Tree device as used here was developed by Roger LaRaus and Richard Remy as part of the work of the Citizenship Development Program at the Mershon Center, The Ohio State University. The effectiveness of this device accounts for the fact that it is currently being used in a variety of learning contexts. The adaptation of this concept to the purposes of elementary learning situations was conceived and implemented by LaRaus and Remy. The Device is used in this report with their permission For an application of the Decision-Tree in citizenship education instructional materials for use in grades 4 to 9 see: Roger LaRaus and Richard C. Remy, *Citizenship Decision-Making: Skill Activities and Materials* (Menlo Park, California: Addison-Wesley: Innovative Publications Division, 1978).

One particular kind of decision-making task is especially relevant to people's behavior as citizens and as consumers. This is making decisions about what the facts are. From an early age on, we are constantly faced with the task of deciding about factual claims. Through television, radio, the press, as well as interactions with friends, we are deluged with often competing assertions about political and economic reality. We hear, for instance, that increasing taxes will help curb inflation, or brand X will last twice as long as brand Y or that the United States is behind the Soviet Union in military strength. What are the facts?

Deciding about factual claims can be very simple or very complex. Seemingly any factual claim can be resolved yes or no. For example, it usually would not be very difficult to make a decision about such factual claims as: The Mayor is a Republican or saccharine is available at the local drug store. However, it might be somewhat more difficult to make a decision about these factual claims: The Mayor is a liberal or saccharine can be easily replaced by other artificial sweetners. It could be very difficult to make a decision about these factual claims: The Mayor's decision to raise taxes will curb inflation or continued use of saccharine in average amounts significantly increases the risk of cancer in the user.

Difficulties in making accurate decisions about the validity of some factual claims can arise from many factors. The opportunity for direct observation or experience may be limited. The variables and conditions (e.g., inflation, cancer risks) involved in the claim may be very complicated. The level of our knowledge about, or our ability to accurately define or measure, a variable may be very limited. For example, social scientists are divided over what equality of educational opportunity means and how to reliably and validly measure such a variable.

Often the individual's decision-making task is clouded by self-serving people who present biased information or false advertising in support of a public policy or product that benefits them. Furthermore, the same information can be and often is introduced to support very different factual claims. And even in today's information-rich environment, data about factual claims may be incomplete and hard to obtain.

We can identify four thinking skills needed by people making decisions about factual claims acting either in a consumer role or in a citizen role. These are: deciding what question to ask; deciding how to gather information; deciding how to organize information; and deciding how to interpret information and make conclusions.

Making Judgments. Making judgments is a second task common to both the consumer and the citizen role. As citizens, for instance, we often make judgments related to group governance as when we judge it a mistake for the President to veto a new law, or as when students judge it unfair that the city prohibits bike riding on city sidewalks. As consumers, we are constantly making judgments about product quality, insurance policies, warranties, the state of the economy and the like.

To judge something is to decide its worth. The judgments we make as consumers and as citizens involve the use of criteria.[33] Criteria are standards or rules for making judgments. Criteria help us evaluate or determine the worth of something. For example, the use of majority rule is one criteria for judging whether a group makes decisions democratically.

Or, for example, the amount of protein per adult serving is one criteria for judging the nutritional value of food.

As we develop into adult consumers and adult citizens we learn criteria to make many different judgments associated with each kind of role behavior. These are, in effect, "ready-made" criteria and they make it easy for us to make judgments quickly. For example, we learn early on that honesty is a standard for judging the worth of a political candidate. Or we learn that symmetry is a standard for judging the beauty of a product. Of course, different societies may use different criteria to judge the same phenomenon. Asians, for example, learn that asymmetry is a standard for judging the beauty of an object.

Some people are more aware or conscious than others that they are using criteria when they make judgments as consumers or as citizens. Conscious use of criteria can result in more effective consumer and citizen judgment-making. In this regard, while "ready-made" criteria are useful for making quick judgments they should be periodically reassessed in light of changing purposes, knowledge, experiences and values. For example, it was once thought horsepower and speed were sufficient criteria to judge the performance of automobile engines. Today, however, we realize that miles per gallon and pollution emission levels are also important criteria in judging engines.

We can identify four steps or skills needed by people making judgments either as consumers or as citizens. These are: recognizing the need to use criteria to make a judgment; asking what criteria are appropriate and should be used; making a checklist of the criteria selected; and systematically applying the criteria to the situation at hand.

Influencing Decisions. A third decision-related task common to both the citizen role and the consumer role is that of influencing the decisions of others. As citizens we attempt to influence decisions about group governance when we try to convince a neighbor to vote for a candidate we support for public office or when we complain about a local zoning ordinance. As consumers, we may attempt to influence a recalcitrant merchant to make good on a defective product or we try to influence large corporations by giving our support to a consumer action organization. Attempts to influence decisions make up a significant part of our lives as consumers and as citizens.

The ability to exert influence in public affairs and to take action has become an important goal in citizenship education. Effective citizenship is seen to require the development of skills in thinking and participation as a group member. The effective citizen is also supposed to be a doer able to advocate ideas, bargain, organize resources and administer people and things.[34]

Similarly organizing to influence consumer related problems has been one aspect of consumer education. The consumer movement has been described as:

> The organizations, activities and attitudes of consumers in their relation to the distribution of goods and services. It gives new emphasis to the consumer's right to full and correct information on prices, on quality of commodity, and on costs and efficiency of distribution. The movement displays the efforts of consumers themselves. . . It is not a concerted movement; in reality it is a series of efforts having in common the feeling of dissatisfaction with goods and services and the marketing practices involved in their distribution.[35]

We can identify several skills associated with exerting influence as a consumer or as a citizen. These are: the ability to state an argument clearly in written or oral form; the ability to calculate the costs and benefits of one solution over another; the ability to mobilize resources on behalf of one's cause or claim and the ability to negotiate and bargain effectively.

In summary, we have examined three decision-related tasks common to our role behavior as citizens and our role behavior as consumers. These are making decisions, judging decisions and influencing decisions. We also identified several basic skills associated with competence in each task in both the consumer and citizen role.

3. Similar Settings and Common Problems

Another factor both citizen and consumer roles have in common is the fact that (1) frequently both roles are played out in similar bureaucratic settings with the result that (2) in both their citizen and consumer roles people face a set of common problems. Along with the growth of big government and big business that we noted earlier has come an increase in professionalism, technocratic decision-making and bureaucracy in the political and economic sectors of society. When organizations reach a certain size, whether they are corporations, universities, labor unions or governments, they seem to take on universal bureaucratic characteristics. These are specialization or division of labor; hierarchy, or fixed lines of command; and job security incentives to attract workers and build their loyalty. In turn such characteristics are usually understood to lead to impersonality, devotion to rules at the cost of individual values, rigidity, too much paperwork and red tape.[36]

Perhaps one of the hallmarks of our post-industrial society is the fact that a significant proportion of the tasks we face both in our consumer role and in our citizen role are carried out in such bureaucratic settings.

For example, when an individual in their role as a consumer disputes a bill with Bell Telephone they are acting within a bureaucratic structure with essentially the same characteristics as when they dispute a tax bill with the Internal Revenue Service. To take another example, the impersonalized, hierarchical structure one confronts when dealing with a massive corporation like General Motors or ITT is in many ways little different from what one experiences when confronting the Department of Health, Education and Welfare or the Social Security Administration.

Commonality in settings frequently leads to common problems for people as consumers and as citizens. One of these problems is coping with the sense of alienation that can result from having to deal with large, bureaucratic, client-oriented, impersonal institutions with the potential for significantly impacting one's life. This alienation is likely to express itself in the form of powerlessness and normlessness.[37]

Powerlessness implies the perceived inability of the individual to maintain effective control over his or her life and destiny. It is the conclusion that people do not shape decisions; but are shaped by the decisions of others. The limited opportunities the average person has to participate in the formulation of bureaucratic policy agendas and decisions can lead to a sense of powerlessness.

Normlessness implies a perceived deterioration in the standards one expects to prevail in an institution or situation. Most individuals assume a norm of relatively equal treatment by bureaucratic officials. Lack of congruence between this norm and actual behavior may be considered an indiciation of deterioration of institutional standards. Accordingly, some individuals view normlessness as a condition of bureaucratic institutions even when the condition does not exist. That is, individuals who believe they would receive unequal treatment are making this judgment with reference to a state of affairs they think should exist because it is affirmed by the political culture.[38]

A second problem faced by citizen and consumer alike is coping with esoteric and jargon filled language associated with bureaucracy of all kinds. The examples below are all too familiar:

> *Redevelopment Land Agency Memo:* 'In order to avoid negative reflections as a result of dysfunctional internal communications, and in order to enhance the possibilities of coordinated balances. . . any item having a direct or indirect affect on the NW #1 Project Area . . .[should] . . . be made known . . . before, rather than after its occurence, when possible.'[39]
>
> Compensations received as a result of reimbursement from a contracted third party or agency for supplemental non-teaching services rendered in addition to the full-time contract may not be subject to contributions to the State Teachers Retirement System.[40]
>
> Except to the extent prohibited by applicable law, no other warranties, whether express or implied, including warranties of merchantability and fitness for a particular purpose shall apply to this unit . . .[41]

At worst such language can be used as a powerful technique for exercising control and even victimizing clients of a bureaucracy. At best, such language is an unintentional but powerful barrier to citizen and consumer efficacy regarding the bureaucracy. In the public sector the language problem often is seen in government regulations and statements of qualifications for government programs. In the private sector the language problem is found in complicated insurance policies, warranties, loan terms and the like.

In summary: citizens and consumers operate today in settings which have similar bureaucratic characteristics. As a result they encounter similar types of problems. Two such problems are coping with alienation and dealing with esoteric language.

d. Comparable Behavior

We noted earlier that decision-making was an important task common to our role as consumers and citizens. Another commonality is the assumption of individual rationality in both classical economic and democratic theory, and the fact of irrationality in people's behavior in consumer and citizen roles. Neither consumer nor citizen behavior is individually and independently determined. Rather, social and cultural factors, including television, advertising and one's fellow workers and neighbors, all have a great impact on the decisions we make as consumers and as citizens.

Classical democratic political theory holds that citizens have "an independent and definite will in the political sphere" and will know and pursue the common good.[42] In short, classical as well as later economic theories of democracy hold that political man is rational and that the political institutions he has developed are rational. In this view, citizens are informed, study issues and candidates carefully, weigh alternatives and consequences and vote in ways calculated to maximize benefits for themselves and minimize costs.[43]

Classical economic theory holds that firms act to maximize profits and consumers to maximize their own utility. The rational consumer will buy what goods and services will go farthest toward satisfying his particular needs and wants. And the consumer will know the prices and quality of all the goods produced so that he can choose products of the highest quality selling at the lowest price. Put simply, rational consumers "in spending money in the market . . . would buy goods that would provide them with the greatest pleasure, satisfaction, or utility."[44]

Empirical research on voting behavior and on consumption economics clearly indicates that acting as citizens and as consumers people do not behave in the "rational" manner described in classical democratic and economic theory. Voters are largely ill-informed about politics in general and about issues at stake in a particular election campaign. They are usually not personally involved in political questions and they have a low political motivation. Voters can be easily manipulated by the mass-media and slick advertising for candidates. Their views about what is going on during a campaign are likely to be determined far more by advertising and by their previous political attitudes than by independently gathered, accurate information.[45]

Research on facets of consumption beyond price theory describe a consumer quite different from the rational consumer of classical economic theory. People consume not only for intrinsic pleasures obtained from the use of goods but also for the pleasure derived from Veblen's conspicuous consumption.[46] Consumers are not very well educated in making spending decisions and they are easily influenced by advertising. They have little motivation to do research on their purchases and often buy on impulse. And consumers usually do not want to analyze their reasons for spending or have to justify particular purchases.[47]

In short, traditional assumptions of rationality in citizen and consumer behavior do not hold true. Rather, both as citizens and as consumers individuals often display "irrational" behavior. Consumer and citizenship educators face a common challenge in taking into account the effect of cultural and social factors on people's behavior as they design instructional programs.

D. Summary

The purpose of this report is to examine key assumptions underlying the work of educators and federal policy-makers in the area of social education. The report focuses specifically on the relationship of citizenship education and consumer education as a case in point.

In this section we examined the prevailing assumption among educators and policy-makers that societal roles such as consumer and citizen are distinct and independent. We found this assumption has contributed to the mutual isolation of consumer and citizenship education. We also found little empirical support for the validity of this key assumption. Rather we found the assumption artificial and potentially misleading. The assumption is artificial because at least two kinds of relationships between the consumer and citizen role can be identified.

First, individuals often behave simultaneously as consumers and as citizens. In such cases the roles are fused and empirically and conceptually indistinguishable. Situations associated with fused citizen/consumer role behavior are those where economic decisions are made in the political process, those involving the consumption of government services and those involving individual consumption decisions with social consequences.

Second, there are important commonalities in consumer and citizenship roles even then they can be distinguished. Five factors are associated with each kind of role behavior: both roles are shaped by common historical forces; they both involve common tasks related to decision-making; both roles occur in similar bureaucratic settings; they involve similar problems of alienation and esoteric language; and both roles involve "non-rational" behavior.

II.

ASSUMPTIONS REGARDING EDUCATION AND SCHOOLING

Both social educators and federal policy-makers have shared the goal of developing peoples' social competence. Both groups have pursued this goal through the development and implementation of educational programs. Both groups have encountered common problems in their efforts to improve social education and both groups have met with a mixture of success and failure.

An examination of these efforts clearly indicates that both groups share a common, if unarticulated, assumption regarding educational change. This is the assumption that formal education through the institution of the schools is an effective mechanism to promote citizen and consumer competence. This assumption is comprised of four related but distinct propositions. In this section we will examine these propositions as they relate specifically to consumer and citizenship education. They are:

1. The proposition that there are deficiencies in consumer and citizen behavior.
2. The proposition that deficiencies in consumer and citizen behavior are correctable through education.
3. The proposition that schools are an effective institutional mechanism for delivering citizenship and consumer education to people.
4. The proposition that those interested in citizenship and consumer education can effect change in schools.

The validity of such propositions is of more than academic interest. These propositions guide the flow of financial and institutional resources at the local, state and national level. And they structure our image of what is required to improve the social education of youth. Let us consider each proposition more carefully.

A. Deficiencies in Citizen and Consumer Behavior

We described earlier the "non-rational" qualities of citizen and consumer behavior. One may or may not wish to term such "non-rational" qualities "deficiencies" since our criteria were a set of ideal-type models of political and economic systems. There may be situations where deviation from an ideal-type model is quite "rational" in light of circumstances. This point notwithstanding, a key proposition of consumer and citizenship educators is that these are important weaknesses in peoples' economic and political competencies. This, of course, is a critical proposition. If there were no or insignificant deficiencies in consumer and citizen behavior, then there would be no need to devise remedies. What support do national assessments and social science research in recent years provide for this proposition?

As for citizen competence, research indicates that only a small percentage of the adult population is committed to basic principles of democracy. When asked, of course, most people voice agreement with abstract expressions of democratic values; they are less willing, however, to translate these abstract principles into democratic patterns of behavior.[48] The intolerance about political matters manifested by many adults is also found among large numbers of adolescents. Numerous American teenagers are highly ethnocentric and chauvinistic. Their loyalty to flag and country is often marked by moralistic fervor. They do not accept political dissidence and non-conformity--even to the point of disregarding, or not understanding First Amendment guarantees. They indicate little disposition to extend to unpopular minorities basic civil liberties presumed to be a traditional part of the American way of life.[49]

Social science evidence also indicates that knowledge about the basic structure and processes of the political system is not widely shared among adults.[50] Closely related to this is the fact that the majority of American citizens display little ability to sort out, relate and conceptualize the information they do possess. Further, their opinions about both domestic and foreign policy issues are usually contradictory and inconsistent.[51]

In knowledge as well as attitudes, the adult citizenry's capabilities are mirrored in the younger generation. Serious problems clearly exist insofar as the political knowledge and understanding of American students are concerned. They have political party preferences without knowing the role of the party. They have a sense of efficacy and of participation but do not know how to influence or participate in the formation of public policy. They express belief in democracy but fail to understand clearly the role of government or of the individual in a democratic system.[52]

Research on the political participation of adults indicates that less than one percent of the American citizenry ever runs for public office. Approximately five percent are ever active in political parties and election campaigns, and only about ten percent ever make financial contributions. Only about one-third of the population belong to political organizations or interest groups. Less than fifty percent of the population will vote in Congressional elections not held in a presidential election year and only sixty to sixty-five percent will cast a ballot in even the most hard-fought presidential election.[53]

As for consumer behavior, studies conducted during the past thirty years by the Joint Council on Economic Education have documented the public's inability to deal competently with the economic aspects of public issues and with economic decisions in their daily lives.[54]

For instance, a study of 20,000 high school students found that "most did not know that the U.S. economy is based on a free-enterprise system."[55] Similarly, a national survey of 7th, 8th and 9th graders found that only 28 percent of the 9th graders could correctly distinguish a capitalistic from a communistic or socialistic economic system. Only 25 percent of the 8th graders surveyed and 20 percent of the 7th graders could answer the same question correctly.

Research on adult economic literacy mirror the results obtained with young people. Few adults, for example, understand the relationship of productivity to their standard of living.[56] And most citizens have little understanding of the relationship of corporate profits and costs.[57] At a more practical level, a national study by the National Assessment of Educational Progress found that many 17-year olds and young adults ages 26-35 lacked basic consumer skills.[58] For example, less than one-half of the 17-year olds and adults could successfully determine the most economical size of a product. And only 10 percent of the 17-year olds and 20 percent of the adults could correctly calculate a taxi fare. A large percentage of those surveyed were also unable to balance a checkbook.

Thus, empirical research lends support to the claims of consumer educators and citizenship educators that there are deficiencies in the way people behave as consumers and as citizens. We can summarize the meaning of much of this research with two related propositions. They are:

(1) People are lacking in qualities and abilities that enable them to protect their self-interest, and

(2) People are lacking in qualities and abilities that would enable them to protect and promote the public interest.

To some extent traditional consumer education has emphasized a concern for the former--protecting one's self-interest. Citizenship education has emphasized a concern for the latter--promotion of the public interest. Recently, however, as if to reflect the fusion of consumer--citizen roles, some consumer educators have grown more concerned with the public interest. And conversely, some citizenship educators have begun to stress the development of the individual's capacities or competence to promote their own interests within the political system.

B. The Role of Education

The second proposition held by most social educators and by policy-makers is that deficiencies in consumer and citizen behavior are correctable through education. This proposition expresses the position that the economy and the polity can remain structurally unchanged while at the same time changes in the educational system will bring desired effects in citizen and consumer behavior.

How valid is this proposition? To what extent are existing deficiencies in consumer and citizenship behavior traceable to deficiencies in education? The answer to this question is by no means self-evident. A case may be made that it is the structural characteristics of post-industrial, interdependent society with its mega institutions which inhibits the attainment of citizen and consumer competence. These features of society may be as responsible for "deficiencies" in citizen and consumer behavior as any purported inadequacies in education.

Put another way, the role of citizen and the role of consumer as presently configured *and* the settings in which these roles are exercised may not in any sense be conducive to behavior which conforms to the normative models of "good" citizen and "good" consumer propounded by reformers. For example, knowledge of current issues is is an individual attribute typically associated with citizen competence. Yet, as we have seen, the information explosion coupled with the increasingly technological nature of both consumer and citizen issues may make it literally impossible for anyone to be "knowledgeable" about anything more than a few issues of direct relevance to their immediate self-interest.

These, of course, are complex issues and we will not resolve them here. Rather, my purpose is to suggest that both educators and policy-makers need to think very carefully about this proposition. Perhaps we should not take literally the notion that all the deficiencies we see in consumer and citizen behavior are all correctable through education. At least some of these deficiencies may stem as much from the nature of society as from the nature of education. Consumer and citizenship education must face up to their alternatives in such a situation: do they attempt to change the structure of society so that it matches their normative models or do they re-think their models to match new settings in society?

C. The Effectiveness of Schooling

A third proposition of social educators and policy-makers is that schools are an institutionally effective means of delivering consumer and citizenship education to people and thereby enhancing consumer and citizen competence. Thus, most consumer and citizenship educators have not accepted the charge of critics like Paul Goodman, Ivan Illich or Christopher Jencks that schools are powerless to act as agents of social change. Rather, while recognizing various weaknesses in the structure and organization of American schools, they have treated schools as effective vehicles for social education.

Consumer education has always been seen as an integral part of the work of the consumer movement. And Presidential consumer advisors and various consumer groups have long assumed that consumer education for young people can be most readily and easily provided through the public school system. It is on such a premise that these groups have continued to urge public schools to offer more in the way of consumer education.[59]

As for citizenship education, social studies educators have traditionally equated citizenship education with schools and schooling. That is, the formal and informal educational processes related to citizen development that occur in elementary and high schools are the focal point of the field's concern. Over the years this definition has set the boundaries for what are considered legitimate or normal professional activities within the social studies field. Of course, as is the case with any field, there is considerable debate about specific problems, concepts and methodologies *within* the prevailing definition of the field. However, the boundaries of the field of social studies itself are hardly ever questioned. Rather, all the major intellectual and professional activities of the field are defined in reference to elementary and high schools.

How effective are citizen and consumer education programs in the schools? Does empirical research provide support for the proposition that schools can be an important factor in enhancing citizen and consumer competence?

1. Citizenship Education.

There is a growing amount of research on the function of schools in the process of citizenship education. Researchers have investigated the impact of classroom-level attributes (teacher, textbooks and courses, and classroom climate) and school-level factors (extra-curricular activities, school governance and organization and socio-economic conditions). Outcome variables have included political knowledge, attitudes and values, and political participation. What conclusions can be drawn from this research.

Within schools the social studies curriculum--including civics and government texts, courses and programs--has been the prime focus for the work of most social studies educators. In a comprehensive review of existing research Ehman concludes that "this curriculum alone does little to alter the political awareness or knowledge of secondary school students."[60] As for attitudes, "the main weight of evidence shows that when no special effort or treatment is mounted, the regular school curriculum has little or no impact on political attitudes of students."[61] Even special experimental programs appear to have only a marginal effect on the political predispositions of school-age youth.

Classroom climate means the interaction of the teacher with the curriculum--how teaching is carried out. Research indicates that the classroom climate does have an effect on student political outcomes--especially attitudes. "Open" classroom climates have been found to foster a range of positive political attitudes, and a closed climate is associated with negative attitudes.[62] For example, in a recently concluded study of civic education practices in ten countries including the United States, researchers found:

> On the whole, the results showed specific classroom practices were less important than what is often called "classroom climate"; more knowledgeable, less authoritarian, and more interested students came from schools where they were encouraged to have free discussion and to express their opinion in class. But students who reported having frequent political discussions with teachers were not not necessarily more democratic in their attitudes.[63]

Findings regarding classroom climate and student attitudes are mirrored to some extent at the school level. Students participation in extracurricular activities and school governance is related positively to their political attitudes.[64] Similarly, the organization and governance structure of schools is related to attitude outcomes. "More participant and less authoritarian climates are linked to more positive political attitudes and behavior of students."[65]

There has been some research on the relative impact of schooling compared to other "agents" of citizenship education such as the family, peer groups and mass-media. The results are contradictory. Studies that find schooling the primary force in the citizenship education process are balanced by others with contrary findings. Nevertheless, Ehman states that compared to other societal agents of citizenship education,

> it seems fairly clear that schooling is more closely linked as an important socialization agent in the acquisition of political knowledge and awareness than as a shaper of political attitudes and participation. This seems an altogether reasonable finding, given the emphasis on cognitive outcomes in U.S. schooling.[66]

2. Consumer Education.

How effective are consumer education programs? Research on this question does not appear to be as extensive as research on citizenship education. However, there have been some studies aimed at determining the impact of school-based consumer education programs on students. Researchers have investigated the relationship of such variables as curriculum, personal characteristics and social factors to students' knowledge of consumer economics as measured by various competency tests.

The results obtained generally parallel the findings of research on citizenship programs. For example, in a 1967 study Meiselwitz tested students in either consumer economics, economics, or general business courses and students who had not been exposed to any of these courses. Students were tested for knowledge of such topics as banking, credit, housing, wills, social security and consumer protection. Meiselwitz found no significant differences between the scores of the two groups. In a recent review of research Langrehr and Mason state that "at least six other studies support the findings of no differences in consumer competence between students who take one of the above courses and students who did not take any courses."[67]

Langrehr and Mason summarize current research by stating:

> Most research has revealed that a course in consumer economics or economics does not significantly change a student's consumer competency. However, ... research has shown that consumer competence is affected by scholastic ability and social class. Further . . . students enrolled in a college preparatory curriculum have higher consumer competency test scores. The findings for influence of size of community and sex of student are mixed.[68]

Thus, empirical research on citizenship and consumer education programs seems to provide only weak support for the assumption that schools provide an institutionally effective means for remedying deficiencies in consumer and citizen behavior. As a result of such findings, it has been fashionable in recent years to chastise the schools for their "failure" or "poor job" in the area of citizenship education. The same seems to be true in consumer education where one observer noted recently that: "On public questions involving economic issues, our schools and our universities in many ways fail to prepare the great majority of students to make wise decisions."[69]

3. Reasons for Inadequacy

What explanations do critics offer for inadequacies in efforts to improve consumer and citizen competence through the schools? Critics and reformers have cited three kinds of shortcomings in the education of consumers and citizens: (1) an insufficient amount of consumer or citizenship education, (2) technical incompetence or (3) inadequate conceptualization.[70]

a. Insufficient Exposure.

The first shortcoming is that people do not receive an adequate amount of exposure to instruction about citizenship and consumer issues. This seems to be a particular concern of consumer educators, because consumer education has yet to establish as secure a position in the curriculum as citizenship education.

b. Technical Competence.

The second shortcoming has to do with technical competence, or as civic educator Fred Newmann says "not knowing how to teach what we wish to teach."[71] Technical problems can take many forms and could involve the formulation of objectives, the design and actual development of instructional sequences, the appropriate evaluation of materials and the like. Both citizenship and consumer education probably suffer from technical problems, but my purpose here is not to offer pedagogical advice on such matters. Rather, let's consider the third supposed problem--inadequate conceptualization.

c. Inadequate Conceptualization.

This third shortcoming is purported to be the most fundamental. It is that traditional efforts at citizenship and consumer education are based on inadequate, incomplete models of society. The most thoughtful critique of the conceptual models underlying consumer education is offered by Lucy Black Creighton.[72] Creighton explains that the consumer education movement has been based on conventional economic theory.

Consumer well-being is seen in terms of getting the largest quantity of goods from a given income. In this situation (1) competitive markets and (2) consumer information guarantee consumer well-being and that consumers, not producers, will be in power. That is, if each consumer has adequate information about goods and services in a free market, producers will compete with each other to provide the goods and services the consumer wants. Thus, by acting in their own self-interest to maximize profit, producers will be compelled to provide high quality goods at a low price. This is in the consumer's interest and makes the consumer *sovereign.* Thus, consumer educators hold that the way to improve the well-being of consumers is to (1) get more information about goods and services to consumers and (2) work for more competitive markets through anti-trust actions, government regulations and consumer representation in government.

According to Creighton this theoretical framework has led to a form of consumer education which has several serious weaknesses. First, consumer education has emphasized a penny pinching attitude alien to most Americans and it has stressed the need for consumers to have more information about price and quality when there is already more information available than most of us can cope with.

Second, consumer education has not adequately handled the issue of consumer choice. That is, in conventional economic theory consumer choice is a *given* and not subject to consideration in terms of a consumer's values or what is "right" or "wrong" or "good" or "bad." Further, because social goods and social costs are not subject to market determination conventional economic theory has led the consumer movement to focus on private goods and services individuals purchase for their own use.

Third, the consumer movements focus on consumer sovereignty has created a debilitating tension between the movement and business. For example, the stress on the role of the indivdual consumer in creating prices through the exercise of individual wishes in the market is directly contradictory to the exigencies of "the new industrial state." Thus, the consumer movement has, "failed to see that under the new conditions, its criticisms of advertising and other business attempts to mold demand represents a direct threat to business's efforts to plan for orderly and profitable production."[73]

In a similar view, some social scientists and educators have been sharply critical of what might be termed a neo-classical, institutional model of the relationship of the citizen and the polity. In this framework citizenship and political life are seen as tied to--indeed equated with--formal, legal institutions of government at the local, state and national level. Critics claim this state-centric conceptual model has led to a citizenship education which is legalistic, emphasizes the formal institution of government and often preaches citizen loyalty and duties to the neglect of citizen rights and opportunities.

The principal elements of this critique have been most succinctly stated by the American Political Science Association's Committee on Pre-Collegiate Education. The Committee found five weaknesses in generally prevailing modes of political education at the elementary and high school level:

> a. Much of current political science instruction in elementary and secondary school transmits a naive, unrealistic and romanticized image of political life which confuses the ideals of democracy with the realities of politics.
>
> b. On the whole, instruction about civics and government places undue stress upon historical events, legal structures and formal institutional aspects of government and fails to transmit adequate knowledge about political behaviors and processes.

c. On the whole, instruction in civics and government reflects an ethnocentric pre-occupation with American society and fails to transmit to students an adequate knowledge about the political systems of other national societies or the international system.

d.. On the whole, instruction about civics and government fails to develop within students a capacity to think about political phenomena in conceptually sophisticated ways; An understanding of, and skill in the processes of social scientific inquiry; or a capacity to systematically analyze political decisions and values.

e. On the whole, instruction in civics and government fails to develop within students an understanding of the capacities and skills needed to participate effectively and democratically in politics.[74]

4. Alternative Explanations

We have described three commonly offered reasons for the seeming inability of schools to provide good consumer and citizenship education. These were: insufficient exposure, technical incompetence and inadequate conceptualization. There are two alternative explanations which should be considered by social educators and policy-makers. The first is familiar to observers of the current educational scene. The second is not often considered yet is critically important.

a. Inadequate Social Organization

Many so-called radical critics of education such as Joel Spring or Michael B. Katz argue that the problem with the public schools lies in their social organization and culture. They criticize the public schools as authoritarian, bureaucratic instruments of capitalistic oppression which have captured the educational process in our society. The action implications of this analysis for the radicals is to "return to small, informal groups, abolish compulsory attendance, root out bureaucracy, and give power to teachers, students, and citizens of the community rather than to administrators."[75]

Particularly in the area of citizenship education, other, less "radical" reformers have also called for changes in the social organization of schools. The American Political Science Association's Committee on Pre-Collegiate, for example, has noted that "the socio-political organization of American schools . . . produce[s] a situation where democratic theory has been so divorced from practice that students are skeptical of both . . . Thus, the Committee believes that the political science profession should develop programs aimed at effecting change in . . . the social organization and culture of schools."[76] The research reviewed earlier (p. 46) on school effectiveness lends support to these claims. One of the few variables which did seem to have an effect on student political outcomes were differences in the social organization and "informal curriculum" of the schools.

b. Overcommitment

An alternative explanation less frequently considered by social educators and policy-makers is that the schools have become overcommitted. Over the years schools, often prompted by educators and policy-makers, have taken on more and more of the social functions previously allocated to other institutions such as the family, church and industry. Not only are schools today expected to teach basic skills in reading, writing and mathematics, but they are also expected to promote students' social, emotional and physical competence. In addition parents want schools to foster the growth of whatever talents their children may have in such areas as music, art, dance and sports. And an increasingly technological society demands that schools provide the basic training for tomorrow's scientists and engineers.

As a result, we may be holding schools responsible for teaching competencies which they are simply not well equipped as social institutions to teach. In the area of citizenship education, for example, schools are expected to teach not only civic knowledge but also social analysis skills, a complicated range of political attitudes, cherished civic values and political participation skills. Research supports the notion that schools may not be equipped to teach all these attributes equally well.

For example, we might expect schools to do well at teaching political knowledge. Elementary and high schools are *potentially* "information-rich" environments regarding knowledge about political life. Through the formal curriculum as well as teacher expertise, schools are supposed to contain the organized bodies of knowledge and analytical "tools" needed to help students better understand political life. Just as we do not expect the mass-media or peer groups to teach fundamental concepts about physics, chemistry or mathematics, the best chance for teaching fundamental concepts of political life is probably to be had in the schools. Although schools have perhaps fallen short of our expectations in this regard, research (p. 48) clearly indicates this is one of the things schools do best.

By the same token, for example, schools may not be one of the most efficient agencies in contemporary society for teaching political participation skills. Political participation involves teaching varying combinations of knowledge, skills and attitudes. But it also involves active behavior in the sense of attempts to impact specific political issues and problems in the environment external to oneself. Schools are spatially and temporarily removed from those institutional sectors in the social process where such problems are often encountered. Further, it is impossible for school-based educators to accurately predict the specific problems or issues students will face in the future. Also, time spent on this goal would be time taken away from pursuing other important objectives in citizenship education more amenable to the schools' particular capabilities and responsibilities. Finally, pursuit of this objective could be politically risky for schools and could bring them into conflict with the community.

The policy implication of this explanation for the inadequacy of the schools would be to act more vigorously upon the recognition that social education can and does occur outside of schools. Social education today is not confined to elementary and high schools. Hence, the task of advancing consumer and citizenship competence should be seen by educators and policy-makers as embedded in a rich institutional context that involves all other major social institutions in one way or another.

In addition to the schools, at least seven other non-school shaping forces and arenas share in the process of consumer and citizenship education. These are governmental institutions, business and labor, the mass-media, voluntary organizations, religious organizations and primary groups (the family and peer groups). These shaping forces perform several functions in the individual's process of social development which involve both formal education and informal learning in institutional and non-institutional settings. We will not develop these distinctions here. Rather it is sufficient to note that these sectors act as settings where individuals confront daily tasks of the citizen and consumer role. As a result these sectors are sources of the knowledge, skills, attitudes and experiences we acquire through social education. Each is a stakeholder in the process in the sense that they have something to gain or lose from the outcomes of consumer and citizenship education.

In this situation, the schools may well have reached the limits of their capacity to contribute to the task of consumer and citizenship education. This implies that a key challenge--especially for citizenship educators who have been more focused on schools than consumer educators--is to devise ways to help citizenship and consumer education better transcend formal schooling. To achieve this, the constructive involvement of non-school agencies would have to be expanded and at the same time coordinated better with continually improving efforts in school-based consumer and citizenship education.

D. Educational Change

We have seen that social educators and policy-makers assume that deficiencies in citizen and consumer behavior are correctable through more and better education in the schools. A final major proposition of both groups is that it is possible for them to effect change in the schools. This proposition has been widely accepted despite frustrating experiences of both groups with regard to this proposition. In the particular case we are examing it is clear that efforts to diffuse innovative practices in consumer and citizenship education have rarely met expectations. Rather, changes have not been as widespread or substantial in either field as reformers have desired.

Efforts to bring about change in consumer and citizenship education may seem a kaliedescope of seemingly random events. However, careful examination indicates that both consumer educators and citizenship educators appear to be operating on several alternative models for producing change in the schools. These models, in turn, all seem to represent variants of one overarching approach to educational change. We will first describe these models and then consider the validity of the proposition that educators and policy-makers can actually induce change in the schools.

1. Models of Change

We can identify at least four alternative models used by citizenship and consumer educators to guide their efforts at educational change. These are: the technological model, the market model, the professional/client model and the political model. Although we will describe each model as a pure type, in reality no pure types probably exist. Rather, the daily efforts of consumer and citizenship educators to induce change probably incorporate elements from more than one model.

The technological model posits that if the proper "technologies" in the form of curriculum materials and teacher training procedures can be created, then change can be induced in schools and students. According to this model, failure to induce changes in schools means we have yet to come up with the proper technologies. When these are developed change will be forthcoming.

The market model of educational change views educational systems as a kind of market with "consumers." The idea is that if reformers could only produce attractive enough products (innovations in consumer and citizenship education), the consumers (teachers and administrators) would adopt and use them. According to this model, failures to induce changes in schools mean we are not producing products attractive enough to activate potential consumers.

The professional/client model of educational change consciously or unconsciously patterns itself after the helping professions and the clinical approach found in medicine and agriculture. The idea is that educators in universities and educational labs or centers represent a body of expertise regarding citizenship and consumer education. Educational change will occur when these "clinicians" interact with teachers and administrators who bring specific real problems to them for solution. According to this model, failure to effect change stems largely from lack of interaction between professionals and their "clients." This lack of interaction may stem from many sources including insufficient awareness on the part of "clients" of the availability of professionals capable of assisting them and/or the lack of norms for initiating and guiding such a relationship.

The political model sees educational change in a power perspective. There are at least two variants on this approach. The first might be termed a "straight power" strategy which attempts to effect change in schools through the coercive power of the federal and state governmental agencies. Efforts to obtain legislative mandates for consumer education and citizenship education fit this category.

A second variant might be termed the "mobilization" strategy. This strategy seeks to mobilize demands for educational change either at the grassroots level among teachers or at the elite level among administrators and opinion leaders. The American Bar Association's Special Committee on Youth Education has used this strategy quite successfully in behalf of law-related education.

The various models implicitly, if not explicitly, guide the reform efforts of consumer and citizenship educators. They represent variants of one overarching approach to educational change. We might term this an "economic approach." This approach is based on a supply and demand image of educational systems. The approach holds that either a demand exists for innovative practices in schools and the challenge is to fill it (technological model, market model, professional/client model) or the challenge is to create a demand (political model) for an already existing supply of good products in consumers and citizenship education.

Readers might look at the current scene in citizenship or consumer education and see three models or five models of change operating rather than the four described above. And one might have a different view of the overarching approach behind these models. But our central point seems incontestable: both consumer educators and citizenship educators engage in educational change activities on the assumption that it is possible for them to effect change in the schools. How valid is this proposition? Are there alternative ways to think about educational change?

2. An Alternative Explanation

We cannot conclusively determine the validity of the prevailing proposition regarding educational change. However, it is reasonable to conclude that this proposition is open to question. Our analysis of consumer and citizenship education indicates that it is by no means self-evident that reformers in social education can initiate and actually implement change in the schools.

In particular, the fundamental premise of what we termed the "economic approach" to educational change--that the "demand structure" of the educational system is controllable or at least can be affected by social educators alone--seems doubtful. We know that there is a close relationship between schools as social institutions and the larger society. "Lacking values in conflict with those dominant in the community, schools hardly can be expected to act as agents of change."[77] Rather, schools tend to respond to and often mirror changes occuring in society. That is, the schools do not change society; rather, social forces and changes occuring in society "dictate" what new agendas the schools will attend to.

because of societal pressures to "go back to the basics." Educators and policy-makers with new "products" related to the "basics" are likely to have a ready audience in the schools.

E. Summary

In this section we have examined the assumption that formal education in the schools is an effective mechanism for promoting consumer and citizen competence. We saw this assumption as comprised of four related propositions: (1) there are deficiencies in citizen and consumer behavior, (2) such deficiencies are traceable to and hence correctable by formal education, (3) schools are an institutionally effective means for delivering consumer and citizenship education to people, and (4) social educators can effect changes in the schools. We found more support for the validity of some of these propositions than for others.

Research clearly indicates there are deficiencies in consumer and citizen behavior. It is more difficult to ascertain the extent to which such deficiencies are traceable to the educational process in society. An alternative proposition is that such deficiencies stem from the structural characteristics of society itself. As to the third proposition, research indicates that, to date, schools have not been particularly effective mechanisms for delivering citizen and consumer education. Insufficient exposure to such education, technical incompetence and inadequate conceptualization have been offered as explanations of the schools' shortcomings in this regard. As alternatives to these we considered the explanations that the social organization of schools is deficient, and that schools have overcommitted themselves by taking on more functions than they can be reasonably expected to handled. Finally, we found the proposition that social educators can effect change in the schools open to serious question. An alternative proposition is that reformers are responding to change agendas set by the schools as a result of societal pressures beyond their control.

The recent history of citizenship education can certainly be interpreted to support this assertion. In the 1930's and into the 1940's the Depression, New Deal and rise of totalitarian regimes sparked a social reformist movement in America. The task of citizenship education came to be that of preparing individuals and society for collective social planning and government regulation. During the 1950's and McCarthyism the task of citizenship education in the schools was seen to be that of enhancing students' loyalties and appreciation of the values of democracy. During the 1960's traditional citizenship education was de-emphasized in favor of the kind of social science education seen by the society as necessary to keep America competitive with Russia. A similar interpretation can be made regarding the history of the consumer education movement.

This simple analysis is familiar to observers of the educational scene. The implications of the school/society relationship for reformers in social education, however, is less clear. It may be that reformers can only be really effective when they are acting as interpreters or carriers of societal demands on the schools. That is, it may well be that the educational system's "demand structure" is impervious to the efforts of educational reformers in social education unless reformers are seen by school people as helping them cope with specific demands (often unwanted) thrust upon them by the larger society.

For example, in citizenship education reformers who seek to globalize or bring international content to the curriculum receive a lukewarm or indifferent reception from many educators. Despite years of effort, reformers interested in international education have been able to create little demand for their "product" among school people. By the same token, "basic education" is currently a hot topic among school people

III.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This report has examined two assumptions. They are: (1) that societal roles such as consumer, citizen and worker are independent and may be treated separately in social education, and (2) that formal education in the schools is an effective mechanism to promote individuals' social competence. These assumptions are widely held by educators and policy-makers in such diverse areas of social education as consumer education, citizenship education, law-related education, energy education, career education and global education.

In this report consumer education and citizenship education were examined as a case-study of the two assumptions in practice. These areas of social education are prototypic. With little modification our findings apply equally to other areas of social education.

The rationale for the report is that social education is becoming increasingly fragmented. Over-specialization is occuring both in substantive content and in the institutional location of social education solely within the schools. This fragmentation rests on often implicit and unexamined assumptions of the type investigated here. If the trend toward fragmentation continues unabated, it will lead to very serious problems. The rapidly increasing social and technological complexity of our society cannot simply be mirrored in the education we offer our youths in the schools. Neither they nor their teachers can handle ever more discrete and specialized segments of knowledge about their social world. At some point such education ceases to bear any functional resemblance to the problems people actually confront in daily life and it ceases to promote their social competence.

Three conclusions may be derived from the research is this report. They are:

1. The quality of social education in America will not be significantly enhanced until the trend toward increased fragmentation of such education is reversed or at least halted.

2. The fragmentation of social education will not be stopped until we seriously re-think the assumptions and models which support that education and until we develop new, unifying frameworks for social education.

3. The federal government has a major role to play in stimulating a serious re-thinking of our approaches to social education and in stimulating the development of common frameworks to guide future work in this area.

These conclusions lead to two levels of recommendations. The first are recommendations directed to social education broadly construed. They describe an important mission for federal policy not likely to be undertaken by other groups in the society. The second are recommendations directed specifically to consumer and citizenship education. They suggest specific activities in this area for the Office of Consumers' Education.

A. Recommendations for Federal Policy in Social Education

Serious re-thinking of existing assumptions and the subsequent integration of social education will not occur by spontaneous combustion. School teachers and administrators are too involved with the day-to-day operation of their schools to initiate and sustain such an effort. Social scientists and university-based educators need incentives and opportunities to break from traditional and comfortable ways of thinking. Re-thinking long-standing models of society and of social behavior will likely require people to cross or at least stretch disciplinary and professional boundaries.

The federal government is in a position to stimulate and support a serious, long-term re-analysis of existing assumptions and models in social education. At the same time federal policy articulated through existing agencies, bureaus and funding programs is especially able to stimulate the actual testing of new ideas for slowing the fragmentation of social education. Ideally real world, practical experimentation would go on simultaneously with continued theory development. Theory should be tested through practice and practice should be critically analyzed.

Thus, there is currently a unique opportunity for federal policy to contribute to the improvement of social education in America. Federal policy can do this by supporting two kinds of activities. They are:

1. Research and program development activities that will explore what a social education premised on the assumption of the *fusion* and *commonality* of societal roles would be like.

2. Research and program development activities that will clarify the real and potential role of schools and schooling in social education today.

1. Models of Social Education Based on Role Fusion.

The first recommendation does not call for an officially sanctioned ideology or the imposition of some type of dull conformity on social education. Rather, the need is to stimulate researchers and curriculum developers to develop new frameworks for a *common* social education which preserves the richness of diversity and pluralism in our complex society. The concept of citizenship or citizen development is one useful starting point for the development of such a unifying conception. Certainly this starting point would not be alien to the American tradition in the area of social education. However, the utility of the citizenship concept for this purpose should not be assumed. For the growth of global interdependence and the rise of powerful non-governmental social and economic instutions which span the globe may have serious implications for the utility of the citizenship concept.

Activities to develop a social education premised on the fusion of societal roles would involve many specific activities. Some examples are:

1.1 A detailed examination of the relationship of people to government, the economy, technology, the legal-system, the major belief systems of society and the languages of the society.

Some of this type of analysis is currently underway. Energy education, for example, involves a consideration of the individual-technology relationship. Law-related education concerns the individual-legal institution relationship. However, existing government task forces in these areas are short-lived, are not charged with the responsibility for developing wholistic conceptions of social education and rarely communicate with each other.

1.2 A sustained analysis of the character of citizenship in modern America.

The work of the Office of Education's Task Force on Citizenship Education is a first step in this direction. However, more questions remain unanswered than have even been addressed. Further, the Task Force did not have as its mission an assessment of the utility of the citizenship concept as a vehicle for developing wholistic models of social education.

1.3 The development of prototype instructional materials which can test the utility of fusion models of social education.

Prototypes are materials designed, developed and tested to achieve two purposes. First, they should provide theorists and developers with information about conceptual and pedagogical issues that can be illuminated only through empirical evidence and actual experience. Second, prototypes can provide guidance for future work.

Prototypes judged successful as a result of their evaluation become "patterns" or "models" for additional development work by others.

2. New approaches to Schooling and Social Education

Social educators have largely focused their efforts on K-12 schools and schooling. They have not acted vigorously on the understanding that the task of advancing social competence is embedded in a rich institutional context that involves all other major social institutions in one way or another.

Federal policy can and should direct educators attention to the total institutional ecology of social education today. A critical first step is to support research that (1) expands our empirically based knowledge about the process of social education in non-school settings and (2) that increases an understanding of the potential and limits of schooling in relation to such settings. Significant, long-term improvements in social education ultimately depend upon expanding our research effort to the total process of social education, not just that segment occuring in the schools.

Research needs in this domain are so numerous that we can only suggest some obviously important categories of needed research. First, there is a pressing need for contextual mapping across the governmental, family, business and labor, mass-media, voluntary and religious sectors. Descriptive studies are needed which identify on-going activities, programs and projects in each of these non-school sectors. This mapping should systematically develop information regarding such questions as: Who is undertaking social education efforts in non-school sectors? What is their intended audience? What are their goals? What resources do they have at their command? What educational strategies do they employ to achieve their goals?

Second, there is a need for research which systematically evaluates the effectiveness of such programs? What factors appear to be associated with success or failure in this area?

Third, there is a need to assess the relationship, if any, between efforts in school and non-school settings. What interactive effects are there? Do social education efforts in different sectors reinforce or contradict each other? Is coordination among educational activities in different sectors possible or desirable?

Fourth, new research should aim at developing empirically grounded typologies of which sectors are the best carriers of which particular intervention in social education at what point in the individual's development. If research indicates that it is likely we learn different things at different points in our life-cycles as citizens, one important question becomes which sectors of society are most appropriate for teaching which kinds of knowledge, skills and attitudes associated with social competence.

Based on knowledge generated by the kinds of research described above, prototype programs aimed at linking school and non-school social education should be developed. Such programs might involve education activities in the business and labor, mass-media or voluntary sectors of society. Or they might involve new teacher training models that help pre-service and in-service teachers learn how to link their in-school efforts with non-school social education programs. Or they might involve training non-school personnel to develop, use and evaluate new social education programs suited to groups particular interests and needs.

In summary: there is a clear need and opportunity for a major federal role in promoting the integration of social education. Federal policy can achieve this by supporting activities that explore new models of social education and by supporting activities that clarify the role of schools and non-school agents in the process of social education.

B. Recommendations for the Office of Consumers' Education

The research in this report clearly demonstrates that consumer education and citizenship education overlap and are related in important ways. It further demonstrates that the mutual isolation of these two areas is both *undesirable* and *unnecessary*. It is unnecessary because both consumer educators and citizenship educators are concerned with a common domain of human behavior and with a set of increasingly related public policy problems and issues. This common domain of behavior encompasses the blending or what we have called--fusion--of the citizen and consumer role.

Mutual isolation is highly undesirable for three reasons. First, it deprives consumer and citizenship educators of the chance to cooperate in using scarce curriculum space in the schools. Reducing mutual isolation can help both groups make better use of such curriculum space. For example, citizenship education courses can be an excellent vehicle for carrying consumer education into the curriculum. At the same time, subject matter traditionally associated with consumer education can be used to make instruction in civics and government more personally meaningful for students.

Second, mutual isolation reduces the ability of proponents of consumer and citizenship education to build a strong support base for their efforts at educational change. It inhibits their capacity to form mutually advantageous alliances when opportunities to influence educational policy arise. And it prevents the evolution of a shared, longer-range strategy for coordinating activities designed to promote citizenship and consumer education.

Finally, continued mutual isolation promotes the increasing fragmentation of social education. As such it contributes to a highly undesirable trend in social education.

What role can the Office of Consumer's Education play in regard to this situation? It is the recommendation of this report that:

> There is a clear and pressing need for the Office of Consumers' Education to take the initiative in promoting the integration of consumer education and citizenship education. Further, the fundamental nature of the citizen role and its interdependence with the consumer role place the Office of Consumers' Education in an excellent position to be the locus of the activities described in the Recommendations in Section A above.

The following recommendations suggest specific activities to integrate consumer and citizenship education. In considering these recommendations it must be kep in mind that the challenge involves more than simply "adding" one form of education to the other. Without fundamentally new models of citizen and consumer behavior in the social process, citizenship and consumer education will only share the same problems jointly they now face separately.

To achieve a meaningful integration and synthesis of consumer and citizenship education the Office of Consumers' Education should support the following activities:

1. Research and development activities designed to further explicate the relationship of consumer and citizenship education.

   The analysis in this report of the relationship of the consumer and citizen role is far from complete. The report takes only the first step of identifying categories which can guide future research. These categories need to be elaborated, refined and put in a larger social process model of the sort advanced by Harold Lasswell.[78]

2. The development of an organizational "atlas" for citizenship and consumer education

There is a real need for an organizational "road map" or "atlas" for each field. This "atlas" could identify barriers to and, more importantly, opportunities for linking citizenship and consumer education. The "atlas" would also locate major actors in each field by answering these questions: Who are the key participants in each field? What is their educational point of view? What resources do they control or have available? What strategies are they currently pursuing? What has been the result of their work?

Such an "atlas" might be widely distributed to participants in each field. It might also be used as a planning document for one or more conferences designed to bring key participants together to exchange ideas.

3. The convening of one or more conferences which bring together consumer and citizenship educators to discuss common issues and problems.

A working conference of practitioners in each field should be convened. The conference should be designed to promote a dialogue on common assumptions, problems and opportunities in each field. The chief function of such a conference would be to develop awareness of the need to relate the two areas and to initiate a dialogue and thinking about the integration problem amongst trendsetters in each field.

4. The identification and organization of exemplar materials, strategies and practices.

One effective means of clarifying what is meant by linking citizenship and consumer education is through illustration. This means pointing to instructional materials, strategies and practices that exemplify what it is you are after. There is a need to locate existing materials, strategies and practices that will illustrate how citizenship education can be infused with a consumer focus and vice-versa. Descriptions and samples of such materials could be organized in some form of an easily used catalog. Such a catalog could be made widely available to practitioners in both fields.

5. The development of model programs.

There are not likely to be a great many exemplary resources available. Hence another priority activity might be to support the design and evaluation of several prototype educational programs, projects and activities. These projects could include childhood and adult education in both school and non-school settings.

6. The creation of a working task force of consumer and citizenship educators.

This would be a small group of the best thinkers in each field who would meet regularly over an extended period of time and work on specific problems related to reducing the mutual isolation of consumer and citizenship education. Such a group would constitute an advisory council for the Office of Consumers' Education in this area.

In summary: There is a pressing need to integrate consumer education and citizenship education. The mutual isolation of these areas is neither natural nor tolerable. At best to perpetuate such isolation is to invite intellectual waste, duplicative efforts, and conceptual confusion. At worst it runs the high risk of diluting the quality of both consumer and citizenship education. This section has recommended six activities designed to reduce the isolation of consumer and citizenship education.

FOOTNOTES

I. ASSUMPTIONS REGARDING THE CITIZEN ROLE AND CONSUMER ROLE

[1] Joseph N. Uhl, et.al. Survey and Evaluation of Consumer Education Programs in the United States, Volume I (US Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Office of Education, March 1970), pp. 2-6.

[2] Lucy Black Creighton, Pretenders to the Throne: The Consumer Movement in the United States (Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1976), p. 77.

[3] Office of Consumers' Education, US Office of Education, HEW, 1977, "Some Questions and Answers About the Consumers' Education Program," p. 1.

[4] Uhl, et.al. Survey and Evaluation of Consumer Education, p. 13.

[5] Frederick W. Langrehr and J. Barry Mason, "The Development and Implementation of the Concept of Consumer Education," Journal on Consumer Affairs, Vol. 11, No. 3 (Winter, 1977), p. 65.

[6] Ibid., p. 65

[7] Fred M. Newman, "Building a Rationale for Civic Education," in James P. Shaver (Ed.) Building Rationales for Citizenship Education, Bulletin 52 (Arlington, VA: National Council for the Social Studies, 1977), p.9.

[8] John J. Patrick, "Goals in Political Education," Paper presented at the Midwest Political Science Association Meeting, Chicago, 1977, p. 2.

[9] Learning may be seen as "a relatively permanent change in competence that results from experience and which is not attributable to physical maturation." Instruction involves manipulating a learner's environment to cause changes in capability. It is "the creation of conditions that facilitate learning." John J. Patrick, "Political Socialization and Political Education in Schools," in Stanley Renshon (Ed.) Handbook of Political Socialization Research (New York: The Free Press, 1977), p. 191. Patrick refers to the following as his sources for the definition of learning and instruction: Robert M. Cagne, The Conditions of Learning (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1965) and Robert M. Cagne and Leslie J. Briggs, Principles of Instructional Design (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1974).

[10] There would also seem to be reasonable consensus within the field that four attributes are associated with citizenship education. These are knowledge, skills, attitudes and participation experiences. These attributes have been described as follows:

1. Knowledge about what is called, in the liberal arts tradition, the human condition, including knowledge about past, present and future.
2. Skills necessary to process information.
3. Development of values and beliefs.
4. Some way of applying what has been learned in active social participation.

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[11] R. Freeman Butts, "Historical Perspective in Civic Education in the United States," in Education For Responsible Citizenship, The Report of the National Task Force on Citizenship Education, B. Frank Brown, Director (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1977), pp. 47-69.

[12] See Richard E. Gross, "The Status of the Social Studies in the Public Schools of the United States: Facts and Impressions of a National Survey," Social Education, Vol. 4, No. 3 (March, 1977), pp. 194-200 and John Jarolimek (Ed.), "The Status of Social Studies Education Throughout the Nation," Social Education, Vol. 41, No. 7 (November-December, 1977), pp. 574-606.

Several elective courses related to citizenship have also worked their way into the school curriculum in recent years. The most prominent are law-related education courses and topics. In addition, researchers have noted that the "hidden" or "informal curriculum" --the way a school is socially organized and governed along with the behavior and attitudes of teachers and staff-- can have an important effect on students' citizenship competencies.

See, for example, Judith V. Torney, A. N. Oppenheim, and Russell F. Farnen, Civic Education in Ten Countries (New York: John Wiley, 1975); Michael Eric Siegel, "Citizenship Education in Five Massachusetts High Schools," Theory and Research in Social Education, Vol. 5, No. 2 (August, 1977), pp. 52-76; John Grove, Richard C. Remy and L. Harmon Zeigler, "The Effects of Political Ideology and Education Climates on Student Dissent," American Politics Quarterly, Vol. 2 (July, 1974), pp. 259-275.

[13] Consumer Education and the Social Studies. A statement prepared for the Consumer Education Study of the National Association of Secondary School Principals by a Committee Representing the National Council for the Social Studies, 1945.

[14] Uhl, et.al., Survey and Evaluation of Consumer Education.

[15] Ibid., pp. 9-10. These were: "taxes-costs, benefits forms, distribution of benefits; community (collective) versus private choice-making; community consumption problems; government programs affecting consumption; government attempts to improve competition and lower prices; product testing--private and public; organizations and institutions promoting the consumer interest; government assistance to consumers."

[16] Lee Ehman, Howard Mehlinger and John Patrick, Towards Effective Instruction in Secondary Social Studies, (1975). Maurice P. Hunt and Lawrence E. Metcalf, Teaching High School Social Studies (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1968). Donald W. Oliver and James P. Shaver, Teaching Public Issues in the High Schools (Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press, 1966). James A. Banks, Teaching Strategies for the Social Studies: Inquiry, Valuing and Decision-Making (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1973). John R. Lee, Teaching Social Studies in Elementary Schools (New York: The Free Press, 1974). Barry K. Beyer, Inquiry in the Social Studies Classroom: A Strategy for Teaching (Columbus: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Company, 1971). Edwin Fenton, The New Social Studies (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1967). Mark M. Krug, History and the Social Sciences:

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New Approaches to the Teaching of Social Studies (Toronto: Blaisdell Publishing Company, 1967). M. Eugene Gilliom, *Practical Methods for the Social Studies* (Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1977).

[17] R. Murray Thomas and Dale L. Brubaker, *Teaching Elementary Social Studies: Readings* (Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1972). Oscar T. Jarvis and Marvin J. Rice, *An Introduction to Teaching in the Elementary School* (Dubuque, Iowa: Wm. C. Brown Company Publishers, 1972). Lavone A. Hanna, Gladys L. Potter and Robert W. Reynolds, *Dynamic Elementary Social Studies* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1955).

[18] Editorial, "The Consumer: Another Forgotten American," *Social Education*, Vol. 38, No. 6 (October, 1974), p. 498.

[19] Creighton, *Pretenders to the Throne*, pp. 83-84.

[20] Alan Gartner and Frank Reissman, *The Service Society and the Consumer Vanguard* (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1974), pp. 3-5.

[21] *U.S. News and World Report*, August 16, 1976, p. 22.

[22] "Boosting Urban Efficiency," *Business Week*, 2312 (January 5, 1974), p. 37.

[23] Howard Mehlinger, "When I See Mr. Jefferson, I'm Going to Tell Him . . ." NCSS Presidential Address, *Social Education*, Volume 42, No. 1 (January, 1978), p. 57.

[24] Daniel Bell, "Unstable America: Transitory and Permanent Factors in a National Crisis," *Encounter*, Volume 34, No. 6 (June, 1970), p. 21.

[25] Mehlinger, "When I See Mr. Jefferson . . .," p. 57.

[26] Bell, "Unstable America," p. 21.

[27] Uhl, et.al., *Survey and Evaluation of Consumer Education*, p. 30.

[28] Harlan Cleveland, "Our Coming Foreign-Policy Crisis," *Saturday Review* (September 6, 1975).

[29] Stephen K. Bailey, "International Education: An Agenda for Interdependence," *International Education and Cultural Exchange*, Volume XI (Fall, 1975, p. 5.

The interdependent character of the modern world has begun to receive considerable attention in the scholarly literature. The titles of recent books on the topic are indicative of what is happening. They include: *This Endangered Planet*; *Only One Earth*; *Macropolitics: International Relations in Global Society*; *The World Systems*; and Edwin Reischauer's *Toward the Twenty-First Century: Education for a Changing World*. Recent studies on the topic by the U.S. State Department, The American Council on Education and the Commission for Coping with Interdependence are especially visible examples. Similarly, newspapers, magazines and the speeches by public officials often make references to global interdependence.

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[30] Chadwick F. Alger, "Increasing Opportunities for Effective and Responsible Transnational Participation," Mershon Center Quarterly Report, Vol. 1, No. 4 (Summer, 1976), p. 2.

[31] Lucy Black Creighton, "The Limits of Consumerism," Social Policy, Vol. 8, No. 3 (November/December, 1977), p. 123.

[32] P. C. Fishbein, "Personalistic Decision Theory Exposition and Critique," in H. A. Brinkas (Ed.), Decision-Making, (Columbus, Ohio: The Ohio State University Press, 1972), and H. Raiffa, Decisions Analysis: Introductory Lectures on Choices Under Uncertainty, (Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1970).

[33] The discussion of criteria presented here is adapted from John J. Patrick and Richard C. Remy, "Ideas to Guide the Development of Programs for Cluster 8: Establishing and Using Criteria," prepared for the Agency for Instructional Television, 1977, mimeographed.

[34] Howard Mehlinger and John J. Patrick, "The Status of Citizen Education," August, 1977, p. 21, mimeographed.

[35] Kenneth Dameron, "The Consumer Movement," in David A. Aaker and George S. Day (Eds.), Consumerism: Search for the Consumer Interest, 2nd Edition (New York: The Free Press, 1974), p. 5.

[36] Raymond E. Wolfinger, Martin Shapiro, Fred I. Greenstein, Dynamics of American Politics (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1976), p. 438.

[37] Ada Finifter, "Dimensions of Political Alienation," American Political Science Review, Vol. 44 (June, 1970), pp. 389-410. See also Richard Schacht, Alienation (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1970).

[38] Finifter, "Dimensions of Political Alienation," p. 395.

[39] "Memo of the Month Book," Washington Monthly.

[40] "Ohio's Retirement and Financial Security Plan for University and College Faculty," The State Teachers Retirement System of Ohio, 1977.

[41] Sony Warranty, Transitor Radio, 3-993-097-21 (1), Sony Corporation.

[42] Joseph A. Schumpeter, Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy (New York: Harper & Row, 1950), p. 250. See also Jack Lively, Democracy (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1977), pp. 27-49.

[43] See Anthony Downs, An Economic Theory of Democracy (New York, 1957) and V. O. Key, The Responsible Electorate: Rationality in Presidential Voting (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1966).

[44] Creighton, Pretenders to the Throne, p. 9.

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[45] Lively, *Democracy*, p. 104. The classics here are listed in Key, *The Responsible Electorate*, p. 4, footnote, 1.

[46] Creighton, "The Limits of Consumerism," p. 124; Thornstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (New York: Macmillan, 1915).

[47] Creighton, *Pretenders to the Throne*, pp. 15 and 86.

II. ASSUMPTIONS REGARDING EDUCATION AND SCHOOLING

[48] Thomas R. Dye and L. Harmon Zeigler, *The Irony of Democracy*, (North Scituate, Mass.: Duxbury Press, 1975), pp. 147-167.

[49] John J. Patrick, "Improving Political Learning in Secondary Schools," (Paper presented at the 68th meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., September, 1972), p. 16.

[50] Dye and Zeigler, *The Irony of Democracy*, pp. 196-199. The evidence on this point is considerable; for example, see also Alfred Hero, "Public Reactions to Government Policy," in J. P. Robinson, et.al., (Eds.) *Measures of Political Attitudes*, (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Institute for Social Research, 1967), pp. 23-79; John P. Robinson, *Public Information About World Affairs*, (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Institute for Social Research, 1967); Fred I. Greenstein, *The American Party System and the American People*, (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1970), pp. 12-13. For a somewhat different interpretation of the public's knowledge, see David E. RePass, "Issue Salience and Party Choice," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. LXV, (June, 1971), and V. O. Key, *The Responsible Electorate.*

[51] Philip E. Converse, "The Nature of Belief Systems in Mass Publics," in David E. Apter (Ed.), *Ideology and Discontent*, (New York: Free Press, 1964) and Agnus Campbell, et.al., *The American Voter* (New York: John Wiley, 1960).

[52] Robert E. Cleary, *Political Education in the American Democracy*, (Scranton: Intext Educational Publishers, 1971), p. 53.

[53] Thomas R. Dye and L. Harmon Zeigler, *The Irony of Democracy*, (Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1970), p. 170.

[54] W. H. Hansen, "The State of Economic Literacy," in D. R. Wentworth, et.al. (Eds.), *Perspectives on Economic Education*, Joint Council on Economic Education, 1976.

[55] Mehlinger and Patrick, "The Status of Citizen Education," p. 6.

[56] Howard Flieger, "The Economics Gap," *U.S. News & World Report*, January 14, 1977, p. 76.

[57] U.L. Frankel, "Economic Education: A National Crisis," Speech given to the Federal Reserve Bank of Boston, 1974.

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[58] National Assessment of Educational Progress, Consumer Math, Mathematic Report No. 04-MA-02, June, 1975.

[59] Creighton, Pretenders to the Throne, pp. 74-75 and 78.

[60] Lee H. Ehman, Indiana University, "The Function of the School in the Political Socialization Process: American Findings," Paper prepared for the International Conference on Political Socialization and Political Education in Tützing, West Germany, October 10-14, 1977, p. 11.

[61] Ibid., p. 14

[62] Ibid., p. 15

[63] Judith V. Torney, A. N. Oppenheim and Russell F. Farnen, Civic Education in Ten Countries (New York: John Wiley, 1975), p. 18.

[64] For example, David Ziblatt, "High School Extracurriular Activities and Political Socialization," The Annals, Vol 361, (1965), pp. 20-31; Harold J. Burback, "An Empirical Study of Powerlessness Among High School Students," High School Journal, Vol. 55, No. 7 (April, 1972), pp. 343-354.

[65] Ehman, "The Function of the School," p. 25.

[66] Ibid., p. 6.

[67] Langrehr and Mason, "The Development of Consumer Education," p. 74.

[68] Ibid., p. 76.

[69] Glenn S. Duneke, "A New Dimension to Economic Education: A Nation of Economic Illiterates," Vital Speeches of the Day, September 15, 1976, p. i.

[70] For slightly different trilogy see: Newmann, "Building a Rationale for Civic Education," p. 1.

[71] Ibid., p. 1.

[72] Creighton, Pretenders to the Throne, Chapters 7 and 8.

[73] Ibid., p. 90.

[74] Lee F. Anderson and Richard C. Remy, "Political Education in the Public Schools: The Challenge for Political Science," Political Science, Vol. IV, No. 3 (Summer, 1971), Report of the APSA Committee on Pre-Collegiate Education, pp. 7-13.

[75] R. Freeman Butts, "Once Again the Question for Liberal Public Educators: Whose Twilight?" Phi Delta Kappan, Vol 58, No. 1 (September, 1976), p. 8.

[76] Anderson and Remy, "Political Education in the Public Schools," pp. 16 and 22.

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[77] Harmon Zeigler and Wayne Peak, "The Political Functions of the Educational System," Sociology of Education, Vol. 43, No. 2 (Spring, 1970), p. 136.

III. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

[78] The social process model has been outlined in Harold D. Lasswell, A Pre-View of Policy Sciences (New York: American Elsevier Publishing Company, Inc., 1971), Harold Lasswell and Abraham Kaplan, Power and Society (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950) and Harold D. Lasswell and Allan R. Holmberg, "Toward a General Theory of Directed Value Accumulation and Institutional Development," in Political and Administrative Development, ed. Ralph Braibanti (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1969).

APPENDIX

A Selected Bibliography
on Citizenship Education

Prepared by

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PUBLISHED ARTICLES AND PAPERS

Anderson, Lee F.; Remy, Richard C.; and Snyder, Richard C. "Criteria for Improving Political Education in Elementary School." *International Journal of Political Education*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (September, 1977), pp. 61-72.

This paper proposes an approach to political education in the elementary school that would describe criteria that would seek to help students learn to practice citizenship. This criteria to help students learn to practice citizenship includes an ability "to deal in a capable manner with enduring tasks of citizenship they face in everyday life such as making, judging and influencing political decisions."

Barth, James L. and Shermis, S. Samuel. "Social Studies: An Exploration of Three Traditions," *Social Education*, Vol. 34, No. 8 (November, 1970), pp. 743-761.

This article examines three approaches used in the teaching of social studies: social studies as citizenship transmission, social studies as social science, and social studies as reflective inquiry. The authors attempt to clarify the approaches and the words used by the approaches: i.e. inquiry, concepts, etc., to help in the discussion and communication of the three.

Bernstein, Edgar. "Citizenship and the Social Studies," *School Review*, Vol. 79. No. 3 (May, 1971), pp. 455-464.

The author writes of the need to transform what students see as being relevant: A view that is personal; and through the social studies develop a sequestering of experiences and activities which will result in the development of adult capabilities for a democratic society.

Beyer, Barry K. and French, Henry P. "Effective Citizenship: A Continuing Challenge," *Social Education*, Vol. 29, No. 6 (October, 1965), pp. 341-344.

In a time of changing social studies curricula, the authors feel educators should view again if their social studies programs are developing politically competent as well as intellectually competent citizens. To the authors in this article, good citizenship is more than knowing the functions of government, it's also having an understanding of individual responsibilities. This later step is best accomplished in the high schools, an area most have been slow to develop.

Brubaker, Dale L. "Indoctrination, Inquiry and the Social Studies," *The Social Studies*, Vol. LYI, No. 3 (March, 1970), pp. 120-124.

This writer's essay offers few "answers" but many questions. He offers three models of indoctrination or inquiry, which may be found in social studies. He also discusses value or attitude change.

Brubaker, Dale L. *Social Studies and the Creation of Settings* (mimeographed, undated).

The author's major point is that there is an area of scholarship-- the creating of settings, any instance when two or more people come together-- that deserves the attention of those involved with social studies. A model is created by the author to explain and benefit his analytic and programmatic purposes.

Brubaker, Dale L., Simon, Lawrence and Williams, Jo Watt, "A Conceptual Framework for Social Studies Curriculum and Instruction." Social Education, Vol. 41, No. 3 (March, 1977), pp. 201-205.

This article uses a five-camp model for analyzing social studies curriculum and instructing. The authors then ask a series of questions to guide the "inquiry into the nature of the camps" to stimulate thinking and "action concerning ends and means for social studies."

Buggey, Jo Anne. "Citizenship and Community Involvement: The Primary Grades." Social Education, Vol. 40, No. 3 (March, 1976), pp. 160-163.

The author believes that community involvement can be one of the keys to successful citizenship education within the primary grades. She offers a model to accomplish this by integrating teachers, students, parents and the community as courses.

Butts, Freeman. "Education for Citizenship: The Oldest, Newest Innovation in Schools." Center for Information on America, Vol. XXVI, No. 8 (April, 1977), pp. 1-6.

The author traces citizenship education through present, then offers his views as to how to best accomplish citizenship education. This is achieved by allowing the students to participate in choices among alternatives, through the use of acting upon their values, and orienting them to the knowledge that's necessary to participate in a political system. The school offers an excellent environment, in turn, for this to occur, by being a political system itself.

Carron, Bradley C. and Dean, Jaros. "Transmitting Political Values: The Role of the Educational System." The School Review, Vol. 77, No. 2. (June, 1969) pp. 94-107.

This paper suggests typologies of processes which schools are involved with as a socialization agent in the transmission of values. Although the authors analyze "inputs" and "outputs" that contribute to the educational system and thus to the shaping of political values upon the students, they propose more questions for a basis of continued research to test their hypotheses.

Chiarelott, Leigh; Gombert, Dennis; and Remy, Richard C. "Ohio Teachers' Views on Political Education in Elementary School." Phi Delta Kappan (January, 1976), pp. 348-349.

In a survey of 800 Ohio elementary school teachers on the current state of political education in elementary school two main

"The Citizen Involvement Network. Citizenship. Washington, D.C., 1976.

This paper attacks the non-preparing images of citizenship that are still sometimes taught in American schools, and represented by flags, pictures, etc., and contrasts this approach with the need to become a functioning and active member in politics in the United States.

Cleary, Robert E. "A Comment on 'Implications of Political Socialization Research for the Reform of Civic Education.'" Social Education, Vol. 33, No. 1 (Jan., 1969), pp 22-23.

The author's main premise is that the inculcation of certain beliefs and attitudes in children is an extremely shortsighted approach for teaching students preparation in a democratic society. Instead the schools should follow a course that will develop an analytical citizenry: the type best suited for a democracy.

Cleary, Robert E. "Current Weaknesses in Civic Education and Opportunities for Improvement." Social Education, Vol. 30, No. 7. (Nov., 1965). pp. 445-451.

The author first discusses current criticisms and problems in civic education. Then he offer alternatives that the teaching of political science can do to remedy them.

Cornbleth, Catherine. "The Changing Faces of Civic Education." Theory Into Practice, Vol. X, No. 5 (December, 1971), pp. 323-327.

This article offers a good brief historical review of civic education.

Dexter, Lewis A. "The Relevance of Political Science to the Social Studies Curriculum." paper presented to National Council for the Social Studies, Houston, Texas: Annual meeting, 1969.

The author states that political science can help develop an awareness in the student, which in turn is most beneficial to reacting to a changing world and coping with its limitations.

Dimond, Stanley. "Citizenship Education." Encyclopedia of Educational Research. Edited by Chester W. Harris. New York: McMillan Co. 1960.

The author first offers a brief synopsis of citizenship education within the United States. Second, he offers programs that are developed for improving citizenship education. Finally, he briefly discusses some specific aspects of citizenship education dealt with at the organizational level.

Easton, David. "The Function of Formal Education in a Political System." The School Review. Vol. 65, No. 8 (Autumn 1957) pp. 304-316.

This article calls for an increased awareness by all of the the effects that education has on the political system and the need for action in studying this correlation.

Edwards, Stephen. "Civic Education for Decision-Making: An Alternative Strategy." Paper presented at 1974 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois, 1974.

The author advances the use of simulation/games as teaching techniques as ways to enhance cognitive and effective development within students.

Ellis, Joseph. "A Philosophical Analysis of the 'New' Social Studies." The Social Studies, Vol. LXII, No. 5 (Oct. 1971) pp. 195-203.

A provocative article written by a historian that argues that much of the "new social studies" is not new at all.

Engle, Shirley. "Exploring the Meaning of the Social Studies." Social Education, Vol. 35, No. 3 (March 1971) pp. 280-288 and 344.,
In this presidential address to the National Council for the Social Studies, 1970, the author talks briefly on the history of the organization; then deals with the goals of social studies and the difficulty, historically, with collaborating and differentiating the approaches of social studies and social science.

Foshay, Arthur W. "Citizenship as the Aim of Social Studies." Unpublished paper, Columbia University, 1972.
To reverse the title, social studies should create a citizen who participates in social decision-making and therefore in social change. The author states goals and beliefs needed to accomplish this purpose.

Frankel, M.L. "Education for Economic Challenge of Today and Tomorrow." NASSP Bulletin, Vol. 49, No. 304 (Nov., 1965) pp. 52-65.
The author wants better qualified teachers in the sphere of economics to help overcome a lack of economic understanding by students upon graduation from high school. He concludes that these future citizens must have a better grasp of economic matters, which should be acquired through the school curriculum to be better citizens.

Galtung, Johan. "Schooling and Future Society." prepared for Chair in Conflict and Peace Research, University of Oslo, Norway.
The author contends first, that change brought about in the sector of education will have deep side effects throughout society. This means, second, schools cannot be viewed in isolation from society. The author argues that an equitable society is a desirable goal and offers reasons to support his view. To facilitate the creation of an equitable society, Galtung suggests changes be made in educational methods and approaches now used.

Gibson, John. "Approaches to Civic Education in the United States. Paper for Seminar on Civic Education and Development, Tufts University, Medford, Massachusetts, May, 1970.
This paper explores a number of dimensions of civic education in the United States. After it has considered what some objectives for civic education are, it compares various school services in advancing students toward the objectives. Also, this paper considers the implication it analyzes for civic education in the less-developed countries.

Gibson, John. "Needed: A Revolution in Civic Education." NASSP Bulletin, Vol. 53. No. 337 (May 1969) pp. 49-64.
The writer of this article presents two main points. First, he doubts that the curriculum alone is the answer to good civic education. Second, therefore, four problem areas must be faced in the educational process: out of school learning, school life-socio-political organization of the school, irrelevant curriculum, and academic tracking of students if good civic education is to be accomplished.

Gillespie, David. "An Intensive Analysis of the Treatment of Salient Political Themes by Civic Texts, Kent State University. (mimeographed).
The author analyzes four secondary civic books. He concludes that the books subscribe to a standard of overwhelming objectivity, lack in controversy and that they suppress critical interpretation by the students. Instead, what the books attempts is to "indoctrinate students by presenting American ideas, often in a chauvinistic manner, while ignoring real historical and contemporary blemishes."

Glass, Gene. "The Wisdom of Scientific Inquiry on Education." Paper presented to the Convention of the National Association for Research on Science Teaching, Silver Springs, Md. March 24, 1971.
The author believes we should turn away from elucidatory inquiry in the areas of education. Instead, we should turn toward evaluation inquiry.

Glenn, Jerry, Futuring--A Look at Tomorrow Today." Instructor LXXXII, No. 5 (January 1973) pp. 78-80.
The author presents a rationale for futuring as well as specific processes to use within a classroom.

Goodman, Mary Ellen. "Emergent Citizenship." Childhood Education. Vol. 35, No. 6 (February, 1959), pp. 248-251.
The study supports the view that "children learn very early some of the basic values essential to orderly social living and characteristic of American culture." It concludes, however, that within this learning process, a wide range of variation may appear.

Hahn, Harlan. "Teacher Preparation in Political Science." Social Education, Vol. 29, No. 2, February 1965, p. 86-89.
The author calls for political scientists to improve the work link between the collegiate level research and secondary and elementary school teaching methods.

Hanvey, Robert G. "An Attainable Global Perspective." Published by the Center for War/Peace Studies, New York, N.Y., 1976.
This report is an effort to describe principles that the author believes need to be known in an increasingly interdependent world. He in turn shows how these points can become a part of the school curriculum.

Hartshorn, Merrill F. and Burr, Phillip W. "Professional Services and Activities of the Social Studies Teacher." NCSS Yearbook, Vol. 23, 1952, pp. 218-239.

The author writes about local, state, regional and national councils that help the social studies teacher with professional services.

Hawley, Willis D. "Political Education and School Organization." Theory Into Practice, Vol. X, No. 5, pp. 328-335.
Although the author feels that some revision in the schools curriculum will aid in the nurturing of a more participatory democracy here in the United States, the changing of the traditional ways schools are run and relationships between teachers and students would

be more beneficial and strike at the heart of the problem. The author develops eight hypotheses as ways to possibly change traditional ways in schools for later inquiry.

Heath, Douglas H. "Student Alienation and School." School Review, Vol. 78, No. 4 (Aug. 1970), pp. 515-528.
Author discusses today's youth and the effects of the educational structure on the students and their learning.

Hill, Russell A. and Wallace, Joan D. "Recommendations for Research, Development, and Dissemination for Ethical Citizenship Education." Edited by Joan D. Wallace, Research for Better Schools, Inc., Philadelphia, Pa., 1976.
This report provides a framework for ethnic-citizenship education. The effort is to teach students the knowledge, skills, and disposition which enable them to realize in action the ethnic citizenship principles considered with American democratic traditions.

Horwitz, Robert H. "John Locke: Some Thoughts Concerning Civic Education." Kenyon College, Gambier, Ohio (mimeographed and undated).
The author writes to fill the void in Locke's political theories concerning education in general, civic education in specific and draws conclusions based on Locke's past writing as how Locke would develop education within his ideal society.

Illuzzi, Salvatore J. and Milstein, Mike M. "Citizenship Education--Political Socialization Perceptions and Practice." State University of New York at Buffalo, Buffalo, New York (mimeographed).
This paper first analyzes why citizenship education as taught, is more political socialization than preparation for a democratic society. Then, the authors discuss ways in which students, through the schools can broaden their analytical horizons; thus, in the process becoming better citizens.

Jarolimek, John. "In Pursuit of the Elusive New Social Studies." Educational Leadership, Vol. 30, No. 7 (April, 1973), pp. 596-599.
The author touches briefly on a short history of the development of the curriculum projects during the 1960's. He believes that the experiences with the projects should have taught educators that when it comes to curriculum, the "home-grown variety is the one that is most likely to survive" due to the latter's ability to adapt to the individual student.

Jaworski, Leon. "Leadership in Citizenship." Today's Education. Vol. 64, No. 1, (January-February, 1975), pp. 54-59.
Schools throughout our country, the author believes, have a great need to institute and enlarge programs for the youth in the fundamentals of law in a free society and in the responsibilities of leadership. Till now, Mr. Jaworski states, we have failed to impress upon children at an early age why "a free people must rely upon law and its institutions in their relationships." The time to do so is now, argues the author.

Krug, Mark M. "'Safe' Textbooks and Citizenship Education." *The School Review*, Vol. 68, No. 4, (1960), pp. 468-480.

The author argues that most textbooks used in the social studies are dull, lifeless and bare; thus, they produce little reflective thought within the students. In order for students to develop critical thinking, which is necessary in a democracy, textbook writers and publishers "should improve textbooks not only scholarly and attractively, but also by making them more stimulating and challenging."

Lane, Robert E. "Political Education in a Market Society." Prepared for *Readings on Political Education.* Edited by Harmon Zeigler (mimeographed). 1978.

The author analyzes the effects that the market system has had on education in the United States. He next views their connections and hypotheses dilemmas now posed by their interaction.

Litt, Edgar. "Multi-Ethnic Education." Prepared for *Readings on Political Education.* Edited by Harmon Zeigler (mimeographed). 1978.

This is an introductive essay commenting on the subject of ethnic education and the themes it encompasses. The essay presses rationally for ethnic education and discusses some of the motivational forces that direct those whom press for it.

Litt, Edgar. "Education and Political Enlightenment in America." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*, Vol. 361, No. 9 (September, 1965), pp. 32-39

This is a good piece that proposes three models of civic education linked to the stages of political development.

Marshal, Daniel W. "Citizenship: The Evolution of Educational Goals." in *The Adolescent Citizen.* Edited by Franklin Patterson. New York: Free Press, 1960.

The thesis of this piece is that civic education goals have not really evolved, but rather seem to have piled up--one on top of the other--into an accumulation of goals. Marshal provides a listing of these goals as he asks educators to again review them.

Massialas, Byron. "Citizenship and Political Socialization." (In) *Encyclopedia of Educational Research.* 4th Edition. 1969. pp. 124-141.

This piece approaches the definition of citizenship in the terms of political socialization and provides a theoretical framework for analysis of the processes that occur within political socialization. Within this analysis, the role of the family, peer groups, extra-curricular influences, and school influences are considered on a cross-national approach.

McClelland, David C. "Testing for Competence Rather than for 'Intelligence.'" *American Psychologist*, Vol. 28, No. 1 (Jan., 1973) pp. 1-13.

The author issues strong arguments against intelligence testing. Then he suggests alternative forms of testing and what the criterion for these should be.

Mehlinger, Howard D. "New Civics Stresses Practical Politics." The New York Times, January 8, 1973, p. 93, Col. 4.

The author discusses the changing emphasis of political education during the mid-60's on into the 1970's. The author sees this trend manifested in projects and other approaches that strive to raise the student's conceptual levels and provide them with political experience either firsthand or through simulations.

Merelman, Richard M. "Public Education and Social Structure: Three Modes of Adjustment." The Journal of Politics, Vol. 35, No. 4 (November, 1973), pp. 799-829.

The author argues that the major educational tasks assumed by the American public schools over time have originated in shifting class relationships. These shifts fall into three historical phases. What is common to each stage is the schools' attempt to legitimize newly won social position.

Moreland, Willis D. "The Academic Preparation of Social Studies Teachers." Social Education, Vol. XXII, No. 8 (December, 1958), pp. 384-386.

This paper studies the two main preparatory routes for social studies teachers: an interdisciplinary approach and one based on one discipline study in particular, in 1958, nationally. The results indicate that there is no one single approach for academic training of social studies teachers. Although the social studies major is the most predominant pattern of training, specialization in individual disciplines is still a major facet of institutional preservice programs.

Muessig, Raymond. Social Studies Education. The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, 1970. (mimeographed)

The author first offers a history of the development of social studies education in the United States. Second, the writer reviews the goals and methods of six different social studies teaching philosophies. Finally, the author discusses his goals for the development of social studies in the future.

The National Council for the Social Studies, Towards a Reconceptualization of Citizenship Education: Report of a Conference, sponsored by the National Council for the Social Studies, Washington, D.C., March 20-21, 1976.

The report explains why there is a need to reconceptualize citizenship education and offers strategies for meeting this need.

Newmann, Fred M., Oliver, Donald M. "Education and Community." Curriculum and the Cultural Revolution. Edited by Purpel and Belonger (mimeographed).

This piece analyzes the need to readjust and develop new curricula in the face of the present cultural revolution. The report proposes several alternatives for accomplishing this goal.

Nichols, Daryl G., Campbell, Vincent N. "Evaluating Civic Behavior." NASSP Bulletin, Vol. 3, No. 341 (Dec., 1969), pp. 35-42.

The authors state that the need to evaluate civic behavior cannot only be expressed in terms of the desired behavior, but that the desired behavior must have appropriate objectives for the target population.

Patrick, John. "Implications of Political Socialization Research for the Reform of Civic Education." Social Education, Vol. 33, January 16, 1968, pp. 15-21.

The author believes that central to the improvement in the American schools of socialization strategies there should be a revision of civic and government courses. These courses should be brought into line with current scholarship in the social and behaviorial sciences.

Patrick, John J. "Political Socialization and Political Education in Schools." Social Education, Vol. 33, No. 1, (January 1976), pp. 15-21.

In this article, the author discusses the scope of political education and socialization in American schools on the political learning of our country's government. He elaborates on the shortcomings of the usual traditional political education that is taught. From this he offers alternative innovations in political education along with an assessment of innovation curricula and questions for educators about political education and socialization in schools.

Patrick, John J. and Messick, Rosemary G. "Reconstructing Civic Instruction in Urban Secondary Schools." NASSP Bulletin, Vol. 53, No. 341 (December 1969), p. 43-55.

This article presents six different findings from other studies that support the need for an inquiry-based reconstruction of civic instruction in urban secondary schools. Furthermore, the author called for the sharpening of the instructional skills of teachers, improving the content of the curricula, and altering the learning environment to accomplish these goals.

Phillips, Richard C. "Implications of Political Socialization Research for the Social Studies Curriculum." The High School Journal, Vol. LIII, No. 2 (November, 1969), pp. 99-111.

The exploration of this article deals with the examination of political socialization research since World War II and its implications for the curricula of American elementary and secondary schools.

Pranger, Robert J. "Experience as a Form of Political Education." Report delivered to the American Political Science Association Annual Meeting: Chicago, Illinois, 1971.

The author argues that political education should provide for both abstract ideas and concrete experiences. For it is through the blend he feels that it is possible to achieve a balance between imagination and political limitation.

Prewitt, Kenneth. "Social Selection and Social Citizenship." Prepared for the Committee on Basic Research in Education, Division of Behavioral Sciences, National Academy of Science--National Research Council, held at Stanford University, California, September 14-19, 1970.

This paper examines two different theses on the relationship of schools and socialization and the effects of both on the developing nations. The two theses are: T. Parsons' "The School Class as a Social System" and T.H. Marshall's "Citizenship and Social Class."

Thus, the author deals with an important point of connection between political science and education by inquiry into the system of equality fostered by citizenship and the system of inequality fostered by differentiation, as well as inquiry about the norms of social duty and the norms of social ambition.

Remy, Richard C. "High School Seniors' Attitudes Toward Their Civics And Government Instruction." Social Education, Vol. 36, No. 6 (October, 1972), pp. 590-598.

This article is based on the results of interviews conducted with predominately white-college-bound high school seniors on their attitudes toward their civics and government instruction. In responding to questions about the methods employed and the curricula presently used in the classroom, it can be gathered that a majority of students desire a change. This change would be represented by new methods and curricula that would help them develop their abilities to analyze and evaluate political life rather than to learn facts or to use the school classroom solely as a training ground for political action.

Remy, Richard C., "Making, Judging and Influencing Political Decisions: A Focus for Citizen Education," Social Education, Vol. 40, No. 8 (October, 1976), pp. 360-365.

From the premise that everyone is involved in the process of political decision making (in the broadest sense), this article develops a rationale as to why classrooms must facilitate the development of decision making capabilities within students. The most productive way is through experiences that are concrete to the students; thus, bridging a gap between hypothetical future political choices made by students and decisions made by students in their daily life.

Remy, Richard C. and Anderson, Lee. "Political Education in Public Schools: The Challenge for Political Science." Political Science. Vol. IV, No. 3 (Summer, 1971), pp. 431-459. (Report of APSA Committee on Pre-Collegiate Education)

This paper defines the two general responsibilities of the American Political Science Association Committee on Pre-Collegiate Education. It is to examine and provide an assessment of the discipline's interrelationship with elementary and secondary education, and it is to develop and begin to implement a long range strategy through which the resources of the discipline can be brought to bear more effectively upon the problem of reform in political science education at the pre-college level. In addition, the report discusses the work in which the Committee was involved in to 1971 and proposes strategy for the future for the Committee to follow.

Remy, Richard C.; Anderson, Lee F.; and Snyder, Richard C. "An Experience-Based Approach to Citizenship Education in Elementary School." Theory Into Practice. Vol. XIV, No. 1 (February, 1976).

To revitalize citizenship education in elementary school, new programs and materials that attempt to be personally meaningful to students and that involve students as active learners should continue to be pursued and prepared. This paper further states that

If these new materials and programs are going to be effective, they must teach competencies transferable to problems of everyday life, they must provide a common preparation for all students, and they must follow the natural contours of children's development.

Report of the Committee of Pre-Collegiate Curriculum Development in Political Science. "The Challenge of Pre-Collegiate Education." Reprinted in Political Science, Vol. 3, No. 3 (Summer 1969) p. 339-344.

The authors believe that the curricula of civic education in American high schools have little influence on the political values and beliefs of most high school students. Therefore, the authors feel a change is needed and that the development of the political science projects are a movement in the correct direction.

Rosenau, James N. "Teaching and Learning in a Transnational World." University of Southern California, Los Angeles, California, 1977.

This paper argues that mounting interdependence has so transformed world affairs that it has altered profoundly the nature of democratic citizenship as usually taught in most countries. Not only does the author elaborate on the criteria of an aware-interdependent citizen, but he also enunciates the role that education must assume.

Sanders, Norris M., Tarick, Marlin L. "A Critical Appraisal of Twenty-Six National Social Studies Projects." Social Education, Vol. 34, No. 4 (April 1970) p. 383-446.

This helpful article reviews twenty-six projects that have been funded by the government or a foundation. The projects reviewed have been approximately categorized as comprehensive, discipline-oriented, area-oriented, or special purpose. In addition the projects are broken down as to where they would fit into the curriculum and at what grade level.

Schwartz, Edward, "The Institute Papers: Towards a Recovery of Civic Idealism." Prepared by the Institute for the Study of Civic Values, Philadelphia, Pa., 1975.

These papers present the basic philosophy, strategy and program of the Institute for the Study of Civic Values as expressed through various writers.

Senesh, Lawrence. "Orchestration of Social Sciences in the Curriculum." Social Science on the Schools: A Search for Rationale. Edited by I. Morrisett and W.W. Stevens, Jr. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1971.

The author writes from the position that an understanding of social processes gained by using analytical tools correctly will develop children's problem-solving ability, a quality he feels is a necessary pre-requisite of good citizenship in a free society. He has taken this approach and has used it as a basis for the development of a social science curriculum for first through third grade.

Shaver, James P. "Social Studies: The Need for Redefinition." Social Education Vol. XXXI, No. 7 (November 1967), p. 588-593.

The author in this article argues that there needs to be a change from the teaching of social science which is pedagogically based to that of social studies: "as that part of the school's general education program which is concerned with the preparation of citizens for participation in a democratic society."

Social Science Education Consortium. A Framework for Social Science Education. Edited by Robert Foy, Ronald Lippitt, Emily Girault and Patricia Johnson, Boulder, Colorado, July, 1973.

The authors promote a need for curriculum revision with the students involved in continuing cycles of data gathering, data analysis, inference testing, value judging and action designing. With these criterions they have developed a model for the creation of curriculums to meet their design requirements.

Stanchos, Alvin Jr. "Democracy, Citizenship and Politics." The Social Studies, Vol. 62, No. 7 (Dec., 1971) pp. 307-311.

The author argues that the ideas of democracy, citizenship, and politics are inseparable. Thus, the learning of each cannot be departmentalized within the school curriculum.

Tolbot, Walter D. "Education for Citizenship." Paper delivered at The Annual Convention of the Council of Chief State School Officers: St. Thomas, Virgin Islands, November 18, 1974.

After a brief synopsis of the development of citizenship education in the United States since the turn of the century, the author deducts that there is now a need to reappraise the emphasis of citizenship education for the future. In what the author observes as changing times he offers four developments within the United States to support a reappraisal and several points to guide one.

Weiner, Karl, J. "Citizenship Education." Clearing House (February 1969), pp. 355-357.

The author's premise in this article is that to meet our goals of responsive and responsible citizenship through education a need for the three R's of citizenship must be re-established: rights, responsiveness and responsibility. Thus, he supports classroom activities, student council, school assemblies, school publications, and school clubs which are designed to further develop these skills. Furthermore, these activities are in line with the wants and desires of tax supported education.

White, Howard. "Instruction and Research: Political Science and the Social Studies." American Political Science Review, Vol. 40 (October 1946) pp. 966-971.

The author in this article seeks better interaction between political scientist and social studies teachers. From this cooperation he lists several benefits both to professions and to students.

Zeigler, Harmon and Peak, Wayne. "The Functions of the Educational System." Sociology of Education, Vol. 43, No. 2, (Spring 1970) p. 115-142.

In this article the authors argue that neither the typical techniques of classroom instruction nor the content (or lack thereof) of social studies courses contributes to the formation of attitudes consistent with the requisites of democracy. A professionalized educational establishment is seen as the major obstacle to realistic education reform.

Bachrach, Peter. The Theory of Democratic Elitism: A Critique. Boston, Mass: Little Brown and Company, 1967.

Bachrach develops a modern self-developmental theory of democracy which centers itself between classical democratic theory and democratic elitism. He sees democracy as both a political method and ethical end. Thus, he places reliance upon broadening and enriching the democratic process in society in all aspects of individual interest such as in government and work. Moreover, the elite-mass structure is alterable, though within the structure the decisions are made which affect societal values.

Barr, Robert D.; Barth, James L.; and Shermis, S. Samuel, Eds. Defining the Social Studies. Arlington, Virginia: National Council for the Social Studies, 1977. Bulletin 51.

For analytical purposes the authors set forth three traditions that help clarify many of the different perspectives on social studies. These three traditions are: social studies taught as citizenship transmission, social studies taught as social science, and social studies taught as reflective inquiry. The authors conclude by offering a new definition of social studies to include all of these traditions.

Center for Research and Education in American Liberties. Civic Education in a Crisis Age: An Alternative to Repression and Revolution. New York, New York: Center for Research and Education in American Liberties, September, 1970.

This report develops behavioral objectives and guidelines for a civics curriculum recognizing the basic commitment to the concepts of individual participation, American democratic theory and law, and the increasing demand for the individual to participate in more social institution decisions.

Cirudde, Charles F. and Neubauer, Deane E. Eds. Empirical Democratic Theory. Chicago: Markham Publishing Co., 1969.

This book offers empirical studies from many noted authors as they apply their research to the defining of democracy and its various relationships and outcomes in a multinational approach. points of view became apparent. First, the responses suggested that teachers perceived a need for political education in the elementary school, and second. that many felt that existing curricular resources were inadequate. The new curriculum materials should be student centered, be short, and be flexible according to the teachers surveyed.

Cleary,, Robert E. Political Education in the American Democracy. Scranton, PA: Intext Educational Publishers, 1971.

The basis of a political education as the author envisions it, is the ability of individuals to engage in a national analysis of public issues. To create an environment within the classroom that fosters this development, a teacher should engage in the discussion of political controversial issues, which will imitate rational argument and the examination of values. The author then develops the premise with rationales and goals into a conceptual framework.

Cook, Terrence E. and Morgan, Patrick M. Participatory Democracy. New York, NY: Harper and Row Publishers, Inc., 1971.

This book deals with problems that are encountered when participation is expanded in order to gain more democracy.

Ehman, Lee H.; Hahn, Carole L.; Hunkins, Francis P.; Martorella, Peter H.; and Tucker, Jan L. Review of Research in Social Studies Education: 1970-1975. Arlington, Virginia: National Council for the Social Studies, 1977. Bulletin 49.

This review on social studies education is a cooperative endeavor of the ERIC Clearinghouse for the Social Studies/Social Science Education, the Social Science Education Consortium, and the National Council for the Social Studies. The book reviews various aspects of social studies education research.

Entwistle, Harold. Political Education in a Democracy. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1971.

The author analyses broad concepts in explaining politics, society, and education and their relationships. After defining those aspects of theory and practices of democracy that are relevant to teaching, the author explains ways both can be integrated into the school.

Kurfman, Dana G. Ed. Developing Decision-Making Skills. Arlington, VA: National Council for the Social Studies, 1977. 47th Yearbook.

Through the contributions of a number of writers, the discussion of developing decision-making skills and its relationship to citizenship is pursued. The topics include showing how the decision-making process incorporates thinking, information gathering, group processes, and social action skills. In addition the authors provide models for teaching decision-making skills in elementary and secondary classes for individuals or groups.

Morgan, Edward P. Inequality In Classroom Learning, Schooling and Democratic Citizenship. New York, NY: Praeger Publishers, 1977.

The author's thesis is that attempts at education evaluation in its present scope does not reflect broader, more inclusive concerns, including democratic political values. For the most part, policy debate is carried on without regard for the socialization experience; hence, the present course with preoccupation with equal opportunity concerns only promises to make schooling increasingly meaningless to its students. The author offers a reform agenda which advances his ideas, supported with his empirical evidence.

Newman, Fred M. Education for Citizen Action: Challenge for Secondary Curriculum. Berkeley, CA: McCutchan Publishing Corporation, 1975.

The author maintains that even if all barriers to citizen participation were removed and if public issues were less complex many people would still be incapable of effective participation because of personal incompetence. From this perspective, Newman offers a systematic rationale for exerting influence in public affairs as a central priority in secondary schools. He defines and justifies a conception of citizen competence and proposes an agenda for curriculum development to meet that end.

Newman, Fred M.; Bertocci, Thomas A.; and Landsness, Ruthanne M. Skills in Citizen Action. Madison, Wisconsin: Citizen Participation Curriculum Project, 1977.

The authors desire to enhance students abilities to exert influence in public affairs through the curriculum. They discuss a one-year program at the 11th or 12th grade level. This combination English-social studies curriculum includes the development of such components as political legal process course, citizen action project, action in literature course, public message. In addition to initiating methods for the classroom to accomplish their goals, a statement of rationale is provided to explain their positions for both methods and goals.

Pennock, J. Roland. Liberal Democracy: Its Merits and Prospects. New York, NY: Rinehart and Company, 1950.

The author concludes that the essential elements of liberal democracy are still sound and that there is prospect that the evolution of it will continue. Yet, in the author's opinion, after reviewing all threats to liberal democracy, the threat of materialism, as a scheme of values that elevates material goods and comforts at the top of the scale, is the most dangerous.

The Report of the National Task Force on Citizenship Education. Education for Responsible Citizenship. (Cosponsored by the Danforth Foundation and the Charles F. Kettering Foundation. New York, NY: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1977.

This report consists of articles form a number of prominent writers and offers rationales and goals for citizenship education in the late 20th century.

Research for Better Schools, Incorporated. Research and Development Needs in Citizenship Education. Report of the Chautauqua Education Week, Philadelphia, PA., September, 1977.

This piece offers rationale and goals for research and development in to the area of Citizenship Education.

Selected Reading in Citizen Education. Readings prepared for A National Conference on "Education and Citizenship: Responsibilities for the Common Good." Kansas City, Missouri, September, 1976.

The purpose of this reader is to present a sampling of interesting and provocative writing across the whole spectrum of citizenship education explored at the Kansas City conference.

Shaver, James P. Ed. Building Rationales for Citizenship Education. Arlington, Virginia: National Council for the Social Studies, 1977. Bulletin 52.

The contributing authors have prepared this bulletin as a preliminary step toward the reconceptualization of citizenship education identified as the major need during the National Council for the Social Studies 1976 Conference on Citizenship Education. The book seeks to make more clear the dimensions of the problem of providing the sound intellectual justifications to make social studies programs more responsive to the needs of a democratic society and more beneficial to the young citizens who inhabit it.

Social Education. Vol 38, No. 6 (October, 1974).

This issue of Social Education has four articles that examine methods for integrating Consumer Education, through an inquiry approach, into Social Studies.

Social Research. The Meaning of Citizenship. Vol. 41, No. 4, (Winter, 1974).

This report, through a variety of authors, attempts to define citizenship in a multi-discipline manner drawing its sources from historic and present day problems and issues for relevance for today's education.

Thompson, Dennis F. The Democratic Citizen. Cambridge: University Press, 1970.

This study examines the implications of empirical studies in the social sciences with reference to current American and British democratic theory. An analysis of citizens' participation, discussion and voting, as well as inequalities in these activities form the core of the book. Thompson shows that the democratic citizenship which prevails today meets only weak standards of democratic theory, but he sees some hope for moderate changes and, more speculatively, some need for radical reform. Social science, he concludes, can strengthen and inform democratic theory but can not replace it.

U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Education and Citizenship. Denver, Colorado: Office of Education, 1976.

This summary report consists of edited versions of some general session addresses plus brief reviews of other sessions of one of a series of Bicentennial conferences on education sponsored or co-sponsored by the U.S. Office of Education. This conference was part of an intensive citizenship education effort conducted by USOE and this conference final report is scheduled to be published in the spring of 1978.

Weissberg, Robert. Political Learning, Political Choice and Democratic Citizenship. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1974.

The author sets forth the different types of behavior and attitudes that are necessary to be performed by citizens in three different models of democracy--electoral competition democracy, representative democracy, and participatory democracy. After analyzing the socialization process that we pass through in the United States, the author concludes that the socialization process prepares people for the electoral competition model of democracy.

Zeigler, Harmon. The Political Life of American Teachers. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1967.

This book seeks to describe the behavior of high school teachers and from that makes some generalizations about political behavior. The book's major finding is that the most salient difference found between teachers on political value is based on the variable of sex.

RESEARCH SOURCES

In constructing this report, six major source areas were explored. A wide scope of areas were chosen so as to present a cross-section of views, information and the development of citizenship and consumer education. In gathering these sources effort was made to consider the historical as well as the latest views, information and developments affecting citizenship and consumer education. The major source areas were: academic, governmental, private organizational, and the mass media. Below is a listing of the major source areas.

State Departments of Education. All fifty state Departments of Education were contacted through the Council of State Social Studies Specialists by phone and/or letter. Here our interest was two-fold: first, to find out if consumer education was required or if guidelines were set up by the individual state; second, we asked for K-12 curriculum guides for consumer education within each state.

College Level Textbooks. A search of college level textbooks dealing with economics, home economics, personal finance, and consumer economics was pursued to see the extent and development of consumer education at the college level. These texts were also viewed to see if there was a conceptual collaboration between the college level and the K-12 levels.

Professional Journals. In addition to drawing upon the wealth of citizenship articles at the Mershon Center, two different ERIC computer searches were made. By feeding the computer key phrases, such as personal finance, consumerism, citizenship or home economics we located articles and journals that dealt with citizenship and consumerism separately as well as the very few where both topics were approached in an integrated way.

College Level Social Studies Methods Textbooks. A review of college social studies methods textbooks was done to see how various authors approached the preparation of prospective teachers with the subject of consumer education. In general, the subject of consumer education was neglected and not discussed.

Private and Government Consumer Organization. Eight consumer organizations were contacted and were asked to respond to their development or association with consumer education. Particular emphasis was requested of these organizations' contributions to adult consumer education. In addition, several of these organizations responded to our requests and sent material dealing with their contributions.

Mass Media. Using various titles in which information about consumerism/consumer education could be focused searches in both the "New York Times Index" and the "Readers Guide to Periodical Literature" were pursued. These searches extended back to 1970 in both cases.